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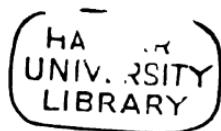
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ART. I.—*Souvenirs de Madame Louise-Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun.*  
(Recollections of Madame Lebrun.) 3 Vols. Paris. H. Fournier, Jeune, 1836.

IN our last number we had the pleasure of rescuing some French memoirs from the sweeping anathema of our contemporaries, and we now return to the task with considerable satisfaction. Madame Vigée Lebrun, who writes her own history, is still alive, and one of the most delightful old ladies that France produces; she has passed her 80th year, but preserves her faculties in the most surprising manner, gathers her circle around her, and, to use the words of one of our mutual friends, “she is still gifted with all the qualities of her youth; her conversation is rendered still more interesting from having read and seen a great deal, and she is one of the happiest specimens of those good times, when grace, affability, and polished manners were appreciated in society.” For our own parts, we hail the appearance of the memoirs before us as likely to afford the most agreeable mixture of truth and vivacity, and we hope to instil the same feelings into our readers as we proceed. They are partly addressed to the Princess Kourakin, having been begun at her request, and, after her death, continued in the form of a narrative. The style is lively and elegant, and impresses us with the idea that it flows from the pen of an animated, amiable, and refined woman; and, did we not ourselves know that she lived in close intimacy with the distinguished persons whom she describes, not only because she painted their portraits, but because she was admitted into their society, her frankness, her ingenuous simplicity, would convince us of her veracity. Moreover, the anecdotes she relates are so well known among the remnants of the circle in which she lived, that any exaggeration or falsehood would be immediately detected. Another great charm in these memoirs lies in their being eminently feminine and wholly without pretension, thereby proving, what we have often had occasion to remark, that *real* talent never pretends. The first of her time

as a portrait-painter, bewitchingly beautiful, gifted with a lovely voice and musical powers, well read in all that concerned her art, flattered, admired, and followed, this celebrated woman has preserved an excellent reputation ; and, surrounded in all the countries which she visited by every thing that could spoil her, she seems not to have had one spark of coquetry, or for one instant to have laid aside her original nature. Her alarms, her disgusts, her dislikes, are all those of a woman who has preserved all her simplicity of character, and at the same time do not betray a single error on the side of flippancy, vulgarity, or conceit.

Some are of opinion that the minute details of biography partake of egotism, and that the more elevated parts of life alone ought to be recorded. From this we beg leave to differ, for it is in little things that we can assimilate others to ourselves : it is in these that many who are capable of greatness yet want a lesson ; they form the human part of us, they form our daily intercourse with our fellow beings, and it is chiefly in them that the affections lie : heroes and heroines may be admired and applauded, but it does not at all follow that they must be loved ; and we are convinced that the perusal of these little workings of the human heart does us more good than that of a splendid action which we may never be called upon to perform. We, therefore, do not quarrel with Madame Lebrun for all her minutiae, and we wish that others would follow her example, and lay their hearts bare before us.

The maiden name of our author was Vigée ; at six years of age she was placed in a convent, and did not quit it till she was eleven ; during this period she gave proof of her prevailing talent, for she filled the margins of her own and her companions' copy-books with heads, and was often punished for drawing them on the walls of the sleeping-room with a piece of charcoal. At eight years of age she drew the head of an old man with a long beard on paper, which she took home to her father, who, struck with the talent it displayed, exclaimed, " You will be a painter, my child, or there never will be another." M. Vigée himself painted in crayons and in oils, in the style of Watteau, and to him belongs the anecdote which we have seen ascribed to others, namely, that, when he was painting a lady's portrait, and came to her mouth, she screwed it into all sorts of shapes to make it look smaller, on which he said, " Do not trouble yourself, madam ; for, if you please, I will not make any mouth at all." From her mother Madame Lebrun received the most pious instruction, which fortified her mind, and produced the most excellent result in after-life ; she was never suffered to read romances till after she married, when the first was *Clarissa Harlowe*, which made a

great impression on her: and, while her mother thus formed her character, her father improved her tastes and talents by his own lessons, and the society of all the artists and writers of merit who were then living. His tenderness and affection seem never to have been effaced from his daughter's mind, although he died, from swallowing a fish-bone, when she was only thirteen years old. Her best consolation under this heavy loss was that of assiduously studying the profession for which he and nature had destined her. She, always accompanied by her mother, constantly painted at the Palais Royal, from those pictures which are now in the possession of the Duke of Cleveland; but she very soon began to paint for money, in order to add to her mother's slender income, and to provide for the expenses of her brother's education. At last her mother married again, hoping thereby to improve the circumstances of her children; but she was mistaken, for, although the retired jeweller was a man of substance, he was dreadfully avaricious, and deprived his family of almost every enjoyment; he not only took possession of the money earned by his step-daughter, but wore all the clothes left by his predecessor, and, as Madame Lebrun innocently says, "he did not even get them altered to fit him, and it increased her disgust towards him."

This must have been a season of great temptation for her, for she was not only sought for on account of her talents as an artist, but for the charms of her conversation; and several noblemen sat to her for their portraits for the pleasure of being in her company; but, to use her own expression, she painted "*à regards perdus*"; her mother was always by her side, and her excellent precepts, and the devotion which she felt for her art, enabled her to resist the seductions which the most brilliant men of the court offered to her, and the acceptance of which would have placed her out of the reach of one who made her domestic life miserable. Among the *célébrités* who then frequented her *atelier* was Count Orloff, one of the assassins of Peter III. of Russia, whom she describes as a colossal person, who wore an equally colossal diamond upon his finger, and not at all prepossessing; but the great chamberlain Schouvaloff, the favourite of the empress Elizabeth, was remarkably polite and pleasing. She was also noticed by Madame Geoffrin, who was celebrated for gathering round her all the wits of the age, and who, without birth or fortune, contrived to make a living by the charms of her conversation. The favourite promenade in those days was the garden of the Palais Royal, which was then of considerable extent, and the best company in France assembled in its long and wide avenue of beautiful trees. The Opera was close by, and was over at half-past eight, when the garden became full of fash-

ionable ladies, carrying enormous bouquets in their hands, and wearing perfumed powder. Madame Lebrun's description of these walks, and the company present, is so lively, that we could almost fancy we see them parading in their stately dresses. Many of them were soon cut off by the hand of the executioner, among whom were Philippe-Egalité himself, and the Marquis de Genlis, who used to amuse themselves with scandalizing every woman who passed by, and whose remark upon herself Madame Lebrun recalls with pride; the duke exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by everybody near, "As to her, there is nothing to be said."

But the attractions of his wife, who was still very handsome, and the singular beauty of the daughter, seemed to disturb the peace of the jeweller, and he, to the great joy of the latter, one day pompously proclaimed that he had taken a country-house for them, where they could walk in peace. It, however, proved to be a miserable dwelling at Chaillon, where the poor young thing would have died from *ennui*, but for the kindness of some friends, who took her with them on their excursions of pleasure; some of which she describes, and especially that to Marly-le-Roi, which was so utterly destroyed during the early fury of the Revolution. A return to Paris was at length hailed with pleasure, where the young artist was enchanted to resume all her labours, and where she became gradually admitted into the first society in Paris, her talents being deemed a sufficient reason for setting aside the strict forms and stiffnesses which attend the life of a single woman in France, who has any pretension to *bon ton*. At this time she painted two pictures from engravings, the one of Cardinal Fleury, and the other of La Bruyère, both of which she presented to the French Academy, and in return received a free admission to all its public meetings. This also led to a visit from the celebrated D'Alembert, whom she describes as "un petit homme, sec et froid, mais d'une politesse exquise."

The husband of Madame Lebrun was a dealer in pictures, and first paid his court to the young lady by lending her all the most valuable works which passed through his hands, in order to make copies of them, and for which she naturally felt grateful. He was supposed to be very rich, and, although almost every friend she had tried to dissuade her in the strongest terms, her mother urged his suit so earnestly, that, prompted by affection for her, and the hope of escaping from her odious step-father, she at last yielded her hand to him. The marriage was not a happy one, for they had few feelings in common. Madame Lebrun loved her profession for its own sake, but her husband as a matter of gain; and, as he was extravagant, he not only spent all his own profits, but those which arose from the portraits painted by

his wife. He was not contented even with these, but he insisted on her taking pupils, almost all of whom proved to be older than herself. He had arranged a garret for their reception, but it was not likely, with her youth and vivacity, that she should have much authority over them ; as a proof, she one day entered after they were all assembled, and found them swinging by turns, in a swing which they had fastened to a beam. At first she looked grave, and expostulated on this misuse of time, but in a very few minutes she found herself swinging, and even more amused than the others ; it was therefore high time to give up her pupils. The emolument arising from them became less desirable every day, as she could not satisfy all those who desired to have their portraits painted by her ; and both her pencil and her conversation were in request by all that was brilliant in the most brilliant court in the world.

Her works of this period convey an idea of the splendid materials which aided the toilette, but she adhered as little as possible to the fashion of the times, which was detestable for artists. She persuaded some ladies to leave off powder, and, having succeeded in tempting the beautiful Duchess de Grammont-Cadrousse to take out her's, and, after sitting, to go to the opera with her hair falling in curls over her shoulders in a picturesque manner, the fashion gradually spread, and the high toupees and bushes of frizzled hair from that moment declined. In drapery also Madame Lebrun tried to effect some improvement, and, taking Raffaëlle and Domenichino for her models, she arranged large scarfs in loose folds about the arms and neck, which were a great contrast to the reigning fashion. The graceful costume worn by the ambassadors from Tippoo Saib having struck her, she tried to get them to sit to her, but did not succeed, till the king had asked them to do so, and she went to their residence to perform her task. This led to an invitation to herself and her friend, on the part of their excellencies, to dinner, and curiosity prompted the ladies to accept it. They were served on the floor, and the ambassadors dipped their hands into every dish in order to convey the contents to the plates of their guests, who were very glad when the entertainment was concluded.

We have heard much of a portrait painted at this time by Madame Lebrun of Marie Antoinette, and whom in fact she painted several times ; and as the description of a skilful artist may be relied on, we copy her own words, and they doubtless convey a just idea of this unfortunate queen.

“ It was in the year 1779 that I painted for the first time the portrait of the queen, then in the flower of youth and beauty. Marie Antoinette was tall, exquisitely well-made, sufficiently plump without being too

much so. Her arms were superb, her hands small, perfect in form, and her feet charming. Her gait was more graceful than that of any woman in France ; she held her head very erect, with a majesty which enabled you to distinguish the sovereign amidst all her court, and yet that majesty did not in the least detract from the extreme kindness and benevolence of her look. In short, it is extremely difficult to convey to any one who has not seen the queen any idea of all the graces and all the dignity that were combined in her. Her features were not regular ; she derived from her family that long, narrow oval peculiar to the Austrian nation. Her eyes were not large, their colour was nearly blue, and they had an intellectual and mild expression ; her nose was thin and handsome ; her mouth not too large, though the lips were rather thick. But the most remarkable thing about her face was the brilliancy of her complexion. I never saw any so brilliant—yes, brilliant is the word,—for her skin was so transparent that it took no shade. Hence I never could render its effect so as to please myself ; I lacked colours to represent that freshness, those delicate tones, which belonged exclusively to that fascinating face, and which I never observed in any other woman. . . . . As for her conversation, it would be difficult for me to describe all its grace, all its benevolence. I do not think that queen Marie Antoinette ever missed an occasion to say an agreeable thing to those who had the honour to approach her. . . . . During the first sitting that I had of her majesty, on her return from Fontainebleau, I ventured to remark to the queen how much the erectness of her head heightened the dignity of her look. She answered in a tone of pleasantry, 'If I were not a queen, people would say that I have an insolent look—would they not ?'

Several portraits of the queen were followed by others of the royal family, and one of the former, in which were the dauphin and the Duc de Normandie, was afterwards exhibited at the Louvre. This picture was then removed to Versailles, and placed in one of the great rooms through which the queen passed going to and from mass. After the death of the dauphin, her majesty could not see it without weeping, and consequently ordered it to be placed elsewhere, not however without informing Madame Lebrun of the reason for doing so. This probably saved it from the fury of the mob, in their memorable visit to Versailles, where they even cut the queen's bed to pieces, and we believe that it is still preserved.

Madame Lebrun made a journey into Flanders with her husband, where she painted a well-known portrait of herself, in the manner of the "Chapeau de Paille ;" and this, and her other works, decided M. Joseph Vernet to propose her as a member of the Royal Academy. It was a very desirable thing for artists in those days to exhibit their works in the great saloon of the Louvre, but in order to do so they must first have been admitted to the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, which was founded by Louis XIV. This academy was not, in the beginning, intended

to admit females, but two had already crept in, Mesdames Vien and Valleyer, and, with these two precedents, M. Vernet insisted on procuring this mark of honour for Madame Lebrun. M. Pierre, the president, opposed it, from the feeling that he was bound to observe the statutes of the institution, and it became a matter of difficulty and cabal. Madame Lebrun, however, succeeded, and by so doing added to her celebrity. Her presentation picture was, "Peace bringing back Abundance," and her reputation for allegorical representation placed her nearly on a level with historical painters. In the present day, all are at liberty to exhibit those works which have been approved of by a jury chosen from the academy, as in this country; and the academy has also undergone a change. It now forms a part of the great national institute, and is thereby increased in importance;—its members are also members of the institute, and it can no longer be assimilated to the simple academies of other nations, which confer diplomas on all distinguished strangers who visit the places in which they exist, and of which Madame Lebrun herself received a great many during her travels.

This was, perhaps, the most brilliant part of our autobiographer's life; at any rate of that portion which she passed in her own country. The high price which was given for her portraits, and the extensive business of her husband in buying and selling pictures, enabled her to throw her house open in the evening, and, to use her own words, "the high nobility of either sex, those who had distinguished themselves in science, art, or literature, foreigners of rank and celebrity, all frequented the saloon where M. Lebrun placed his pictures, and where she held her *soirées*; and this room, although large, was often so crowded, that, for want of seats, the men would sit upon the floor; and it so happened that the Marshal de Noailles, who was fat and unwieldy, having adopted this plan, created much mirth by the difficulty he found in getting up again." A friend of ours writes us that, when he gained the great prize of the academy in 1788, he was present at the supper which she had always given, since her admission, to the students about to start for Rome, and at this entertainment he met M. de Vaudreuil, one of the greatest ornaments of the court of Louis XVI., and most of the society spoken of by Madame Lebrun in her memoirs. The celebrated composers Grétry, Sacchini, and Martini performed parts of their new operas in her saloon before they appeared on the stage; the first singers also, both public and private, joined Madame Lebrun in executing the best music; Viotti with his exquisite violin, Jar-novich, Maestriuo, Prince Henry of Prussia, Hulmandel and Cramer, were among the instrumental performers, and nothing

could be more *recherché* than these meetings. A select few were detained to supper, where the Abbé de Lille, the Virgil of France, and Lebrun, the Pindar, talked and recited their verses. The simplicity of the repast proved that it was not for the sake of eating and drinking that the party had assembled; poultry, fish, one dish of cooked vegetables, and one of salad, formed the whole, and round these insignificant viands was to be found the most brilliant society in the world. These suppers have been continued, or, perhaps we should rather say, revived, in France, under the name of tea, which is generally served between ten and eleven. With it, wine, cakes, pastry, sweetmeats, and fruit, are set out; a few, chosen from the more numerous *soirée*, sit down and form the most charming *coterie* round the table; occasionally the selection is so numerous as to require a double row of chairs, when the nearest hand the refreshments to those behind them; servants are banished; conversation is animated, unreserved, and gay; no one tries to outshine his neighbour; jealousies and rivalries seem to be dormant; and, when such men as ornament the fasti of science mingle without restraint in the passing scene, and only bring their genius to bear upon the enjoyment of the social hour, the recollection of such evenings must last for ever. The mind is refreshed by them; we feel better, wiser, more charitable, after mingling with the noblest of human kind; and, while we find society a relaxation from the tasks of life, we have enjoyed it to our improvement. But we must return to Madame Lebrun, and describe one of her suppers, which was very celebrated, and afterwards hasten to another part of her life.

“ One evening, when I had invited twelve or fifteen persons to come and hear a recitation of the poet Lebrun’s, my brother read to me a few pages of the *Travels of Anacharsis*. When he came to the passage where, in describing a Greek dinner, the author explains the manner of making several sauces, ‘ You ought,’ said he, ‘ to let us taste some of these this evening.’ I immediately called up my cook, gave her very precise instructions, and we agreed that she should make a certain sauce for the fowls, and another for the eels. As I expected some very handsome women, I conceived the idea of dressing ourselves all *à la Grecque*, in order to surprise M. de Vaudreuil and M. Boutin, who, I knew, would not arrive before ten o’clock. My painting-room, full of every thing requisite for draping my models, would furnish abundance of garments; and the Count de Barois, who lodged in my house, rue de Cléry, had a superb collection of Etruscan vases. He came home that day at four o’clock precisely. I communicated my scheme to him, and he brought me a quantity of goblets and vases, from which I made a selection. I cleaned all these articles myself, and placed them on a mahogany table, laid without cloth. This done, I placed behind the chairs an immense skreen, which I took care to disguise by covering it with a drapery, in

the same manner as we see in some of Poussin's pictures. A suspended lamp threw a strong light on the table. At length every thing was prepared, as well as my costumes, when the daughter of Joseph Vernet, the charming Madame Chalgrin, was the first who arrived. I immediately dressed her, and arranged her head-dress. Next came Madame de Bonneuil, so remarkable for her beauty ; Madame Vigée, my sister-in-law, who, without being so handsome, had the finest eyes in the world, and forthwith all three were metamorphosed into genuine Athenians. Lebrun entered ; his powder was taken out, his curls straitened, and I placed upon his head a crown of laurel, with which I had just painted young Prince Henri Lubomirski. Count de Barois happened to have an ample purple mantle, which served me for the drapery of my poet, whom I turned in the twinkling of an eye into a Pindar—an Anacreon. Then came the Marquis de Cubières. While a messenger went to his house to fetch a guitar which he had had fitted up as a gilded lyre, I dressed him, and also M. de Rivière (my sister-in-law's brother), Guingené, and Chaudet the celebrated sculptor. The hour approached ; I had little time to think of myself, but as I always wore white dresses in the form of a tunic, it was sufficient for me to put on a crown of flowers, and to throw a veil over my head. I bestowed my particular care on my daughter, a charming girl, and Mademoiselle de Bonneuil, who was beautiful as an angel. Both were enchanting to behold, holding a very light antique vase, and ready to serve us with drink. At half-past nine the preparations were finished, and when we had all taken our seats, the effect of that table was so novel, so picturesque, that each of us rose in turn to take a look at those who remained seated. At ten o'clock we heard the carriage enter with Count de Vaudreuil and M. Boutin ; and when those gentlemen came to the entrance of the dining-room, the folding-doors of which I had directed to be set open, they found us singing Glück's chorus, *Le Dieu de Paphos et de Gnide*, which M. de Cubières accompanied with his lyre. In all my life I never saw such astonishment, such stupefaction, in two faces, as in those of M. de Vaudreuil and his companion. They were surprised and delighted to such a degree that they remained standing a very long time, before they could consent to take the places which we had reserved for them.

" Besides the two dishes which I have already mentioned, we had a cake made with honey and currants in it, and two dishes of vegetables. We drank indeed that evening a bottle of old Cyprus wine, which had been made a present to me—that was all the excess in which we indulged. We, nevertheless, continued a very long time at table, where Lebrun recited to us several odes of Anacreon, which he had translated, and I think I never spent a more amusing evening. Messrs. de Boutin and de Vaudreuil were so delighted that they talked of it next day to all their acquaintance. Some ladies of the court applied to me for a second representation of this pleasantry. I refused for various reasons, and several of them were offended at my refusal. A report was soon circulated that this supper had cost me twenty thousand francs. The king spoke of it with some spleen to the Marquis de Cubières, who had luckily been of the party, and who convinced his majesty of the silliness of such an assertion. Nevertheless, that which was rated at Versailles at the

moderate sum of twenty thousand francs, was raised at Rome to forty thousand, and at Vienna, the Baroness de Stroganoff informed me that I had spent sixty thousand francs on my Greek supper. You know that at Petersburg the sum was finally fixed at eighty thousand, and the truth is, that this supper cost me but fifteen francs."

But Madame Lebrun was about to suffer for her celebrity, and, in the first place, she was not exempted from a very common accusation brought against women who do any thing which is remarkable. This remarkable production is sure to be wholly, or partially, ascribed to a husband, a brother, a preceptor, a friend, who has been kind enough to let his labours pass under the name of the lady. Now we may be very good-natured, nay very gallant, indeed, we feel a considerable degree of complacency, when we think of our conduct and feeling towards *really* clever women ; but we do not give ourselves credit for extending this feeling so far as to supply our female friends or relations with materials for a brilliant fame. For instance, would any one in his senses write such works as emanate from Great Britain's pride, Mrs. Somerville, and let them be ascribed to her ? No ! we love fame too much ourselves, and labour too hard for it, to part with it when it is justly our due ; therefore we fully believe that Madame Lebrun painted all her portraits and pictures herself, without the assistance of man. But a great deal of scandal and calumny immediately preceded the French revolution ; there was a feeling of irritation, a spirit of party, that had not yet found vent in public occurrences, and we have heard of many splenetic and spiteful sayings and doings at this period. Affairs, however, soon assumed a more serious appearance, and Madame Lebrun was too great a favourite at court, too much in the intimate friendship of all that was great and noble, to escape suspicion, and she was one of the first who was abused by the mob. Disgusted and alarmed, she seriously thought of travelling, but her friends, who could not be persuaded that any serious crisis was to be apprehended, still made her linger. The symptoms, however, increased, and when she saw the celebrated and beautiful Pamela, tearing up and down the streets on horseback, followed by two servants in the Orleans livery, in the midst of the most revolting hordes of vagabonds and ruffians, who loudly cried, " There is our Queen !" she naturally thought that all order was subverted ; and, half-dead with alarm and apprehension, in consequence of reiterated threats against her person, she decided on performing her long-intended journey to Rome, and taking her daughter and her daughter's governess along with her. They were disguised as working people, and started in the diligence, as the surest mode of escape. No molestation was offered, and she thought that she was unknown, till

she was ascending Mont Cenis on foot. Several strangers were following the same route, and one of their postillions came up to her and said, " You ought to have a mule, madam ; for this way of travelling must be too fatiguing to a lady like you."—" I am only a working person," said Madame Lebrun, " and am used to walking." The postillion laughed, and replied, " You are no working person ; and we very well know who you are."—" Who am I then ?" returned Madame Lebrun. " You are Madame Lebrun," concluded the postillion, " who paints to perfection, and we are all very glad to see you so far away from those wicked people." Madame Lebrun never could guess how this man knew her ; but it was a proof how far the emissaries of the jacobins extended their influence, and she was thankful at being beyond their reach.

It would be difficult to decide which of Madame Lebrun's travels is the most interesting, for her descriptions of people, scenery, monuments of art, solemnities, public festivals, peculiarities of custom, are all written in the most graphic manner, without pretension, and with that remarkable simplicity which seems to have accompanied her throughout her life. Our friend, to whom we have already alluded, met her in Rome, and was an eye-witness of the honourable reception there bestowed upon her, and we cannot do better than follow the course of her narrative. It may not be amiss, however, to remark that, after she had resided in Italy for some time, her talent acquired increased strength, her touch became bolder and firmer, her colouring more solid, and her drawing more perfect ; we have seen a portrait painted by her at the period we speak of, and were much struck with the richness and depth of its tone. She seems to have been very open to impression ; for those who know her productions better than we do, have remarked a difference in them, which can only be ascribed to the varied circumstances which assailed her in each of the countries in which she resided. Persons of a very lively imagination and great sensibility, without being aware of it, constantly assume the tone of those among whom they reside for some time, however different it may be from that in which they were born. Madame Lebrun passed through Turin, where she received the greatest kindness from the celebrated engraver Porporati ; at Parma she was feted by the Count de Flavigny, the ambassador of Louis XVI. and saw there Correggio's magnificent picture of the Nativity, which was afterwards taken for a time to Paris, and some other pictures of this great master, on which she makes the following just observation :—

" I could not see so many divine pictures without believing in the in-

spiration which the Christian artist derives from his religion ; fable, it is true, has charming fictions ; but to me the poetry of Christianity seems much more beautiful."

Passing through Modena, she arrived at Bologna, where the French were forbidden to stay for more than one night, but where she received an especial permission from the pope to remain as long as she pleased ; a favour of which she availed herself in order to feast upon treasures of art, and to be received into the Academy of that place. From Florence she could hardly tear herself, but at length she arrived in Rome, and the following were her first impressions :—

" You know that, while yet at some distance from Rome, you can see the dome of St. Peter's. It is impossible to tell you what delight I felt when I first perceived it. What I had so long wished in vain was on the point of being realized. At length I found myself on the Ponte Mole. I must confess to you in a whisper that it appeared to me very small, and the so celebrated Tiber a very muddy stream."

At Rome Madame Lebrun became acquainted with Angelica Kauffman, whom she found amiable, talented, and learned, but without the enthusiasm which was so abundant in herself. No sooner had she established herself, than sitters crowded to her, among whom were several English ; emigrants flocked to Rome from Paris, and at every fresh arrival she had some fresh loss to deplore. She not only visited the environs of the city, but found time to sketch them. When speaking of the temple of Sibyl, she says :—

" There I heard the sound of waterfalls which lulled me deliciously, for this had nothing harsh like so many others which I detest. To say nothing of the awful sound of thunder, there are other sounds which are to me unbearable, and the form of which I could draw from the impression which they make upon me : thus I know round sounds and sharp-pointed sounds ; in like manner there are some which have always been agreeable to me ; the sound of the waves of the sea, for example, is soothing, and disposes one to pleasing reverie."

After eight months' sojourn in Rome, Madame Lebrun went to Naples, where she, as usual, moved in the best society. We cannot refrain from citing the following passage, which we think will be sure to meet with the sympathy of our readers, who, like ourselves, have the same unconquerable desire to speak of personal defects before those afflicted with them, and the involuntary gratification of which has caused us so much pain :—

" This neighbourhood at Naples was extremely agreeable to me, and I spent most of my evenings at the Russian ambassador's. The count and his lady frequently played a game at cards with the Abbé Bertrand, who was then the consul of France at Naples. That abbé was hunch-

backed in the full extent of the term, and I know not by what fatality it happened that as soon as I was seated by him at the card-table the air of *Les Bossus* always came into my head. I had the utmost difficulty to divert my thoughts from it. At length, one evening, my pre-occupation was such that I began humming that unfortunate air quite loud. I stopped short immediately, and the abbé, turning towards me, said in the kindest tone : ' Go on, go on, that does not offend me in the least.' I cannot conceive how such a thing could have happened to me ; it is one of those movements that are inexplicable."

At Naples Madame Lebrun met with Sir William Hamilton, and Emma Hart, who was afterwards his wife ; of her she thus speaks :—

" I had given the first sitting, when Sir William Hamilton, the English ambassador at Naples, called upon me to ask me as a favour to let my first portrait be that of a superb woman whom he introduced to me ; this was Mrs. Hart, his mistress, who very soon became Lady Hamilton, and whose beauty has rendered her celebrated. Agreeably to the promise made to my neighbours, I would not begin this portrait till that of the Countess Scawronski should be pretty forward. I painted at the same time a fresh portrait of Lord Bristol, whom I found again at Naples, and who might be said to pass his life upon Vesuvius, for he ascended the mountain every day. Sir William Hamilton had this portrait painted for himself, but it should be observed that he very frequently sold his pictures again when he could do so at a profit ; hence M. de Talleyrand, the eldest son of our ambassador at Naples, hearing some one say one day that Sir William Hamilton patronized the arts, replied, ' Say rather that the arts patronize him.' The fact is, that, after bargaining a very long time about the portrait of his mistress, he got me to paint it for one hundred louis, and that he sold it in London for three hundred guineas."

Madame Lebrun afterwards made another portrait of Lady Hamilton, as a Sibyl, which she kept in her possession, and which was one of her best pictures. Another of her most celebrated works was the portrait of the great composer Paësiello, who was then the delight of Italy.

After again spending some time at Rome, Madame Lebrun determined to return to France, for accounts had been much more favourable concerning the state of the country, and she felt an earnest desire to see those who were dear to her, and still survived. In her way through Parma we find the following anecdote respecting the Sibyl, the conclusion of which has particularly pleased us :—

" In the same week I experienced in the same city a gratification not less lively. I had with me the picture of the Sibyl which I had painted at Naples, after Lady Hamilton, intending to carry it to France, whither I reckoned upon returning very shortly. As this picture was very re-

cently painted, on my arrival at Parma, that it might not turn yellow, I put it one day in a frame, and hung it up in one of my rooms. One morning, while dressing, I was informed that seven or eight pupils of painters had called to pay me a visit. They were shown into the room in which I had placed my Sibyl, and in a few minutes I went to receive them there. After they had expressed the strong desire they had felt to make my acquaintance, they said that they should be happy to see some of my works. 'Here,' I replied, 'is a picture that I have just finished,' pointing to the Sibyl. All of them testified at first a surprise much more flattering than any words could have been; several then declared that they thought this picture was by one of the masters of their school, and one of them threw himself at my feet with tears in his eyes. I was the more touched, the more pleased, with this test, as my Sibyl has always been one of my favourite works. The reader, in perusing this narrative, may perhaps accuse me of vanity; I beseech him to consider that an artist labours a whole life to enjoy two or three such moments as that which I am speaking of."

We should be the last to accuse an artist of conceit on such an occasion; he must know in a great measure the value of his own works, if he be a man of real merit, and we have often thought of the noble simplicity with which Sir Thomas Lawrence used to pass his opinion on his own works, and receive praises from others; and there is frequently a great deal of hypocrisy in denying merits which we cannot fail to know that we possess.

At Venice, Madame Lebrun met the Baron Dénon, whose character and talents she seems to have appreciated, and from thence proceeded to Turin; but her progress was there stopped by the fugitives from France; the streets were filled with them, and they were destitute of money, clothes, or bread; life was all they could save; some had been prematurely confined on the way, and others were at the point of death from fatigue and suffering. The King of Sardinia gave orders for their relief, but the city could scarcely hold them. M. de Rivière, the brother of Madame Lebrun's sister-in-law, whom she expected to meet her, at length arrived, but, after witnessing the massacre of the priests at Beauvoisin, he had been so ill as to be obliged to stop upon the road: the news he brought proved that there was no safety in France for Madame Lebrun, and she then changed her route and went to Vienna, to which city she had been frequently invited; that city, of which it is said, that it contains three causes of death, "the wind, the dust, and the walz." Wherever she went, she met her fugitive countrymen; wherever she appeared, she received the same kindness and distinction; and, after remaining two years and a half in Vienna, painting fifty-five portraits in oils and pastil, and making new friends, reviving old friendships, and lamenting

over those that were gone for ever, she in 1795 proceeded to St. Petersburg.

She passed six years in Russia, and was received by the three sovereigns whom she saw upon the throne during that period, with all that enthusiasm which they ever profess for the arts and mental acquirements. She was presented to the Empress Catherine by Prince Esterhazy, and thus describes her interview:—

“ I reached the empress’s apartment trembling a little, and there I was *tête-à-tête* with the Autocrat of all the Russias. M. d’Esterhazy had told me that I must kiss her hand, and consequently for this purpose she had taken off one of her gloves, which ought to have reminded me of his injunction ; but I completely forgot it. It is true that the sight of this so celebrated woman made such an impression upon me, that it was impossible for me to think of any thing else but contemplating her. I was at first extremely surprised to find her so small ; I had fancied her to be a prodigiously large woman, as large as her renown. She was very fat, but she had still a fine face, to which her gray hair, turned up, formed an admirable frame. Genius appeared to be seated upon her broad and very high forehead. Her eyes were soft and fine, her nose perfectly Grecian, her complexion very ruddy, and her physiognomy extremely animated. She said to me immediately in a tone of voice full of kindness, but nevertheless somewhat harsh, ‘ I am delighted, madam, to receive you here ; your reputation has outstripped you. I am very fond of the arts, and especially of painting. I am not a connoisseur, but an amateur.’ All that she added during this conversation, which was of considerable length, about the desire she felt that I should like Russia well enough to make a long stay there, bore the character of such great benevolence, that my timidity left me ; and by the time I took leave, I had recovered all my assurance. Only I could not forgive myself for not having kissed her hand, which was very beautiful and very white ; especially as M. d’Esterhazy did not fail to reproach me for it.”

The wife of Alexander seems to have been a perfect model of beauty, elegance, and grace ; but we must not trust ourselves to make further extracts from this part of the work, for fear that we should exceed our limits, and we shall therefore content ourselves with saying, that the author places before us all the famous personages of whom we have read or heard, as playing their part in Russia at that time—their outward appearance and manner, their conversation, their histories are all given to us with the same vivacity which marks all hitherto described ; and in fact we should be puzzled which to choose. She witnessed the sensations created by the death of Catherine, the accession and murder of Paul, and the accession of Alexander ; it was a redeeming feature in Paul to have loved and protected the arts as generously as his mother had done. Her account of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowsky is highly

interesting ; she describes him as good-tempered, amiable and brave, but perhaps not quite energetic enough to keep the people of Poland in order at that time ; he was passionately fond of the arts, extremely graceful and benevolent, and his suppers were delightful, somewhat resembling those of Paris ; his eldest nephew, Joseph Poniatowski, was a hero in look and conduct—in short, “ *le Bayard Polonais* ;” and it will be recollected that he was afterwards drowned in the Elster, on the destruction of the bridge over that river after the battle of Leipzig.

Honour, wealth, and enjoyment were poured upon Madame Lebrun, but all were embittered by the marriage of that daughter whom she had so much loved and cherished. For some time she tried to prevent this union, but, finding her efforts useless, she at length gave an unwilling consent, and Mademoiselle Lebrun bestowed her hand on one wholly unworthy of her in character, talent, fortune, or rank. The seeds of discord once sown between mother and daughter led to an estrangement which was not thoroughly effaced for some years, and, the health of the former having consequently suffered, she went to Moscow, of which she gives a most comfortless account, and returned to St. Petersburg in time to witness the accession of Alexander, whom she entirely exculpates from being in the least accessory to the death of his father. The kind disposition of this emperor towards her, the friendship of his court, and the high consideration which she enjoyed, seemed to render her prospects more brilliant than ever ; but the conduct of her daughter had sunk too deeply into her heart to be easily forgotten, and in 1801 she returned to France by way of Prussia. The queen of this country fêted and caressed her, but would not detain her for any length of time ; her brother and relations pressed her to return, her name had been erased from the list of emigrants, and, after twelve years' absence, she longed to behold her native city.

On arriving in Paris, Madame Lebrun saw a new world, which she places before us in her usual manner. She found a few relics of former times, mingled with those whose names, connexions, and fortunes, were wholly strange to her ; she saw and appreciated M. Gérard, and thought of the fascinating Madame Recamier as every one else did ; but she was still restless, and nothing seems at that moment to have been able to satisfy her heart. She therefore again resolved to travel, and, never having been in England, she started in 1802, and arrived in our great city without knowing a word of our language. She had engaged an English maid, who spoke French, but soon discharged her because “ she did nothing all day but eat bread and butter.” The crowd assembled on the pier at Dover alarmed her exceedingly, and she left that place immediately, when she was assailed by the new fear of robbers ;

however, putting her diamonds into her stockings, she proceeded in a chaise to Brunet's Hotel, and afterwards took lodgings; she finally settled herself in Maddox Street, where she established her *atelier*. She was shocked at the *boxeurs* in the streets, distressed by the climate, *ennuyée* with our Sundays, and stupefied at our routs. On our public walks she makes the following observations:—

“ The public walks in London are not more gay; the women walk together on one side all dressed in white; their silence, their perfect calmness, would make you fancy them to be walking ghosts; the men keep themselves apart from them and observe the same serious silence. I have sometimes observed couples, arm in arm; when I happened to be going the same way as the two persons, I amused myself in watching whether they would say a word to one another; and I never found them break the silence.”

Of Reynolds she says:—

“ I saw in London many pictures by the famous Reynolds; they are of an excellent colour, which reminds one of that of Titian, but in general unfinished, with the exception of the heads. I admired, however, his *Child Samuel*, which delighted me both in regard to finish and colour. Reynolds was as modest as he was clever. When my portrait of M. Calonne arrived at the Custom House, having been informed of the circumstance, he went to see it, and persons who were present gave me the following particulars of what passed. When the case was opened, he looked a long time at the picture and praised it; on which one of those newsmongers, who take delight in repeating the silly inventions of calumny, said that this portrait ought to be a good one, for Madame Lebrun was paid eighty thousand francs for it. ‘ Why,’ replied Reynolds, ‘ if one hundred thousand were to be given to me, I could not do it so well.’ ”

With Mrs. Siddons she was wholly delighted; she gave several *soirées* at her house in Maddox Street, at one of which Mrs. Billington and Grassini sung together, Viotti played the violin, and the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., said to her, “ *Je voltige dans toutes les soirées, ici je reste.* ” In a party at the Duchess of Devonshire's she met Sir Francis Burdett, and thus speaks of him:—

“ At a moment when I was seated by the duchess, she directed my attention to a man placed at a great distance from, but opposite to, us, and said, ‘ Has he not a remarkably intelligent and distinguished look?’ In fact, marked features and a high forehead stripped of hair gave him a very expressive physiognomy. It was Sir Francis Burdett, in whose election she warmly interested herself, and who was actually returned. I have not forgotten the fright caused me by his triumph, when, chancing to be in the street, I saw a coach pass with a great number of persons of the lower class, some inside and others on the top, and all shout-

ing, with all their might, 'Burdett for ever!' Most of these men were quite drunk, and they were throwing stones at the windows . . . I was terrified, conceiving that nothing less than a revolution had begun in England. I hurried home, trembling all over, and was very glad when Prince Bariatinski, who had long resided in London, came to cheer me. He told me that such scenes were quite common at the time of an important election, and that they would all be over on the following day."

When the peace of Amiens was broken, all the French then residing in England were ordered to quit the kingdom, but the Prince of Wales requested his father to allow Madame Lebrun to remain, and himself carried her the royal permission, couched in these terms: "That she was at liberty to travel throughout the kingdom, to stay where she pleased, and moreover, that she should be protected at all the sea-ports where she should be pleased to sojourn." Of our celebrated prince she observes:—

"The Prince of Wales was then about forty, but he looked older, because he had already grown too corpulent. Tall and well made, he had a handsome face; all his features were noble and regular. He wore a wig arranged with great art, the hair of which was parted in front like that of the Apollo, which became him wonderfully. He was very expert at all bodily exercises, and spoke French extremely well and with the greatest fluency. His was the most refined elegance, and a magnificence which was carried to prodigality. . . . It was not long before my departure that I painted the portrait of the Prince of Wales; it was nearly a whole length, and in uniform."

It would appear that more jealousy was felt against Madame Lebrun in England than any where else, and this portrait of the Prince of Wales heightened it so much, that her rivals attacked not only the *artist*, but the *lady* and all her compatriots of the pencil, which occasioned a spirited letter on the part of Madame Lebrun, but which has too much of the woman in it; and we think it was scarcely worth the while of one so strong in her own fame and excellence to notice the production to which it alludes. We were glad to read her remarks concerning the general feeling evinced in England at the murder of the Duke d'Enghien; his unhappy father went to see her about a month afterwards, so altered that she scarcely knew him. At first he could not speak, but, seating himself in a chair, covered his face with his hands, burst into tears, and then exclaimed, "Non, je ne m'en consolerai jamais!"—and in fact he never recovered his former vivacity.

Madame Lebrun visited many places in England, such as Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, Matlock, Bath, Warwick Castle, of all of which she speaks in raptures; and, after three years passed in this country, she hastened back to Paris by way of Holland, to

meet her daughter, who had arrived there from Russia, and where she remained till she died ; her husband and she having become so indifferent to each other, as to be perfectly happy apart. Madame Lebrun made one more journey in order to see Switzerland, and at her return bought a country-house at Louveciennes, on the banks of the Seine, in sight of the beautiful woods of Marly, and close to the spot to which the famous Madame Dubarry retired on the death of Louis XV. She resumed all her former habits, renewed her musical *soirées*, at which Catalani often sang, and where she introduced the famous tragic actress, Mademoiselle Duchesnois, to public notice. In 1815, she was plundered at Louveciennes by the allied troops; in 1818 her only child and her husband quitted this world, and in 1820 she lost her only brother, to whom she was fondly attached. In order to recover her spirits, she went to Bordeaux, and now she passes her time between Louveciennes and Paris; she is cherished by an affectionate niece, she is surrounded by a select circle of friends, among whom are some of about her own standing; the heroes of the empire and the favourites of the Restoration, all are glad to be admitted, and hear her still delightful conversation. She has even painted the portrait of M. Poujoulat since she passed her eightieth year, and the signs of old age have not sunk deeper than the external wrinkles which years will bring with them.

We trust that we have now interested our readers for Madame Lebrun as much as we could desire, and we cannot do better than recommend them to read the volumes of which we have given but an imperfect sketch. We cannot, however, close it, without mentioning some separate sketches of character, drawn by Madame Lebrun, and placed at the end of the first volume. Some of them are inefficient, and she certainly sees every thing *en beau*, but as she confines herself to what she herself knew of the parties, we may rely on the correctness of the statements. From them we offer one specimen, with which we shall take our farewell of the gifted Madame Lebrun.

“ Jacques Delille was a child during his whole life, but one of the best, the most amiable and *spirituel* of all children. He was called ‘choue légère,’ and I have been always struck with the aptness of the epithet, for no man ever fluttered through life more lightly, without being strongly attached to any thing in this world. Enjoying the present without thinking of the future, he rarely concentrated his mind into deep thought. Nothing was more easy than to acquire a complete influence over him, to guide him, or to lead him; and his marriage is a strong proof of this. He had complained to every one of the heavy chain which he wore, while it was yet time to break it. At last a friend persuaded him to set himself free, and offered him an asylum in his

house. Delille accepted the offer, was delighted, determined, and only asked for an hour in order to get some of his things together. In the evening, his friend, finding that he did not come, went to seek him.—‘ Well, well,’ answered Delille, ‘ I am going to marry her, my friend, I hope you will be kind enough to serve as a witness.’

“ The Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, with whom he was very intimate, and who was going to Greece, repeatedly asked him to go with him. Nothing, however, had been agreed on, nothing was settled for this voyage. On the day of departure, the Count went to the Abbé and said, ‘ I start immediately ; come along, the carriage is ready.’ The Abbé complied, without having made any preparation, and in fact M. de Choiseul had provided every thing.

“ When they reached Marseilles, Delille walked upon the shore, and looking at the sea, a deep melancholy came over him. ‘ I never can,’ said he, ‘ put this immense element between my friends and myself ; no ! I will go no further.’ He then secretly quitted M. de Choiseul, and hid himself in an obscure inn, where he thought he could not be found ; but, after much search, M. de Choiseul discovered him, brought him back, and they embarked together.

“ When separated from his friends, he never forgot them, and wrote often to them. He sent me several letters from Athens, where he said he had inscribed my name in the temple of Minerva, and from Naples I, in my turn, wrote to him that I had, with much more reason, inscribed his on the tomb of Virgil.

‘ The Abbé Delille passed his life in high society, of which he formed one of the most brilliant ornaments. He not only repeated his verses in the most delightful manner, but his refined wit, his natural gaiety, gave an unspeakable charm to his conversation. No one could tell a story like him, and he delighted all circles by a thousand recitals, a thousand anecdotes, without ever mingling scandal or satire with them, therefore it may be said, that every one loved him, and he loved every body. The latter good quality, if it be one, I think proceeded from that weakness of character of which I have already spoken. He knew not how to hate or to resist ; if he had promised to dine with you, even at the moment of coming, any one else who came to seek him, might take him in another direction, and you might expect him in vain. I recollect that we one day reproached him for not having kept his word with us, and he had an answer ready, ‘ I always persuade myself,’ said he, “ that he who comes to seek me is more eager to have me than he who expects me.”

“ Some instances of his simplicity strongly remind me of La Fontaine. One evening, when he came to supper at my house, I said to him, ‘ It is very late ; you live so far off, that I am uneasy at seeing you return at such an hour, driving your cabriolet yourself.’—‘ I always take the precaution of putting a night-cap in my pocket,’ said he. I then proposed making up a bed for him in the saloon. ‘ No ! no !’ said he ; ‘ I have a friend who lives in your street, and I often sleep there ; it is not the least inconvenience to him, and I can go there at any time.’ And in fact he slept at his friend’s.

ART. III.—*Statistique de la Maison Royale de Charenton, dans les Annales d'Hygiène Publique.* Par M. Esquirol, Médecin-en-chef. (Statistics of the Royal House of Charenton, from the *Annales d'Hygiène Publique.* By M. Esquirol, Principal Physician.) Paris, 1836.

THERE are few, if any, questions, connected with the science of medicine, so eminently deserving the patient and persevering inquiries of the medical philosopher, or that come home more closely to all classes and conditions of men, than that which forms the subject of our present notice. Insanity, until very lately, has been viewed as a disease over which medicine could exert but little control, and the asylums to which its unhappy victims were consigned, were established as receptacles where, without fear of offending the public eye, they might drag on a few years of miserable existence, rather than with a hope or prospect of ultimate recovery. The wretched and degraded state to which some of the fairest portions of our fellow creatures have, for a succession of years, we might almost say ages, been there reduced, by the cruel and absurd notions which then prevailed on general treatment, are revolting to our finer feelings, and it cannot fail to afford unmixed satisfaction, to contrast the past and present state of those asylums.

"I visited," says Sir A. Halliday, "a few days ago the cells of the Edinburgh Bedlam, in company with Spurzheim. We found fifty-four individuals in that abode of misery, two-thirds of them females, having had scarcely a sufficiency of rags to cover their nakedness, and even the shreds that remained appeared not to have been cleansed for months. In a distant cell we discovered a woman worn out by the violence of her disease, stretched on a straw pallet, and sinking rapidly to the grave. A rat was perched upon her bed. I will not affirm that this animal attempted to mangle the exhausted body of the dying maniac, but the sight was horrible. Spurzheim exclaimed, 'That palaces were provided for the accommodation of the greatest villains and disturbers of society, while those unfortunate beings were left in misery, and I am a living witness that the swine of Germany are better cared for.'"

Happily such scenes are now no longer to be met with.

So late as 1772 there were only four hospitals throughout the kingdom for the reception of lunatics: two in London, one in Manchester, and one in Newcastle; and, previous to 1815, the insane of the army and navy were all sent to a private asylum near London, where, as was proved before a committee of the House of Commons, their cure was a matter of secondary moment. Through the valuable exertions of Sir James Macgregor, an asylum for those deserving sufferers has been established at Fort Pitt, Chatham, where they now enjoy all the comforts which their unhappy condition so eminently entitles them to.

New Bethlem will afford a tolerably fair idea of the state and condition of those retreats in general. Here, in the first instance, the windows were left unglazed, so that the unhappy inmates were either kept in total darkness or exposed to the inclemency of the weather; and the generous efforts of Lord Robert Seymour were hardly sufficient to persuade the committee to lower the windows of this establishment, so that the poor sufferers might have a view of the animated scenes which were passing around them.

In 1806 and 1807 we find the first attempt at statistics of the insane, and such was the imperfect state in which they were found to exist, that in all England and Wales not more than 2248 lunatics and idiots could be found, while we find Suffolk and Norfolk alone returned 230.

Doubtless much of the evil which existed in those asylums arose from the very absurd regulations, which vested in the hands of the governors the medical and other arrangements. We find by a declaration of the governors of Bethlem hospital, made in 1814, "that all patients chained there were incurable;" though, in one year after 1815, there remained but one lunatic chained. In this year the question, "What constitutes an incurable case?" was put to the apothecary of Bethlem; to which he replied, "After a residence of twelve months, if such person has exhibited symptoms of malevolence, or is mischievous, and it is considered necessary that society be delivered from them, they are declared incurable." And this, too, in the nineteenth century!

At the White House, Bethnal Green, the custom was to chain the unfortunate lunatics every Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock, and leave them so until 8 o'clock on Monday. In 1827, a Mr. Hall visited the infirmary of this establishment, and found it so filthy that he could not breathe in it. "I was obliged to hold my breath while I staid to make a short survey of the room."

The evidence of John Nettle is scarcely to be credited in a civilized community. "When Mr. Warburton came to have the infirmary cleaned, I turned the straw out of the cribs, and there were maggots at the bottom of them where the sick lay." The infirmaries of those asylums were a kind of sanctuaria where none but the elect were admitted. "Did they ever admit any persons to this infirmary?" was a question put to this witness, to which he replied, "No, never." This indifference was not confined merely to the resident attendants; it extended to the visitors, who were appointed from the college of physicians. One of those visitors being asked,

"Did you ever visit the infirmary?

"I do not know that I have.

"You can give no information to the committee?

"No, I cannot; whether I have seen the infirmary or not I do not know."

And yet such men were continued in their vocations for a series of years!

Mr. Roberts states in his evidence that, when he visited this place, by order of the parish of St. George, he found five crib rooms that he knew nothing of before. In this state it was reported to have remained for twenty-seven years of statute visitation. In this horrid place there was an unfortunate man of the name of Norris cased in iron for a period of nine years; and in 1814 there were in the women's ward ten patients chained by one leg and one arm to the wall. The chain merely allowed them to stand up or sit down. Their entire covering was a blanket tied like a gown. In the men's ward the men were chained in the same way.

Thanks to the untiring labours of the physicians of the present day, we turn from those revolting scenes to more cheering and happy prospects, at least for the doomed to such retreats. Insanity, which, in its most comprehensive sense, may be considered an ineptitude for conducting one's-self in the ordinary affairs of life and its relations with society, has of late been stripped of many of those terrors which, in times less enlightened, consigned its unhappy victims either to perpetual imprisonment or the less objectionable evil,—premature death, from the treatment to which they were subjected. They are now no longer handed over, on the fiat of an apothecary, as we have already seen, to perpetual imprisonment on the grounds of incurability.

Though the nature of this review prevents our entering into a minute and critical investigation of the various theories of insanity, yet we deem it not altogether foreign to its general principles to dwell a little on a subject from which no one has a special immunity.

Esquirol remarked some years back, that insanity belongs almost exclusively to civilized nations or races of men. In a savage state the mind is uncultivated, its reasoning faculties undeveloped, and, consequently, free from the various exciting causes which are perpetually operating on highly cultivated minds. In civilized life we may be said, by our excessive refinements, to beat out or expand our brains, and thus expose a more extended surface to the action of external causes, than those who are actuated only by the ordinary excitements of the natural wants and appetencies. Prichard is disposed to believe that congenital predisposition, so powerful a cause of insanity in civilized life, is

wanting in the uncivilized state ; and it is not going too far to suppose that, as we see in refined states of society varieties of structure created, morbid varieties of organization may be increased or multiplied. There are many diseases, constitutional in civilized life, wholly unknown in the savage state.

It is admitted by travellers that insanity is seldom met with among the negroes of Africa or the native Americans ; and Dr. Winterbottom says that, among the tribes of Sierra Leone, mania is a disease which seldom, if ever, occurs ; and it is scarcely known in the West Indies among the negroes.

The early writers on insanity divided it into two orders; mania and melancholia. Esquirol's division, which is now considered the most approved, is into four; mania, monomania, dementia, and idiocy. The mortality in the first is one in twenty-five; in the second, one in sixteen; in the third, one in three; in the fourth, the returns are not quite determined. He considers the hallucinations of the insane as intellectual phenomena, quite independent of the organs of sense, and which may take place though those organs may have been destroyed, or so affected as to be no longer capable of performing their functions; as when deaf men hear sounds, and blind people see colours, which are processes carried on in the brain, without any participation of the sensual organs. Many cases arise from a want of power of attention. In monomania, the attention is too much concentrated on one object, in mania it is too much distracted. The imbecile, Esquirol says, differs from the victim of dementia. The former never possessed the faculty of the understanding in a state sufficiently developed for the display of reason; the latter was once endowed with them, but has lost their possession. The imbecile lives neither in the past nor future; the victim of dementia has some thoughts of time past, reminiscences which excite in him occasional gleams of hope.

The effect of madness on our ordinary sensibilities is in many cases quite incomprehensible. Very delicate mad people have been often known to sleep on the cold ground for nights in succession, without suffering any inconvenience. Others have gazed for entire days at the sun without any injury to vision. It would seem that physical sensibility diminishes in proportion as cerebral excitement increases, and, during the paroxysm, pain may cease altogether, or be changed into a state of well-being. We see mad men frequently commit horrid mutilations with very blunt instruments, sometimes with red hot iron, without exhibiting the least symptom of pain, but, on the contrary, the strongest appearances of pleasure.

The moon has long been considered to exercise a powerful in-

fluence over the insane. Esquirol says that, though he cannot confirm the general opinion of it, yet he is disposed to admit that at the full of the moon mad people are more affected than at any other period. They are also affected, he says, at day-light every morning, and he is, from this, inclined to think that light is the chief cause of excitement. "Light," he says, "frightens some, pleases others, but agitates all."

Madness has been frequently feigned with a view of escaping some dangerous or laborious duties. Such was the extent to which it was carried in France during the conscription, that Fodere says, it was as difficult to detect a feigned case as to cure a real one. Some pretended to be deaf. In one case of this kind, it was so well managed, that a pistol let off close to the patient's ear, without his expecting it, produced no effect. A very curious case is recorded of feigned blindness by Mahon, a French writer. A young conscript was sent to a corps blockading Luxembourg. Having passed the night at the advanced posts, he declared himself blind the next day, and was sent to the hospital. The surgeons used the most powerful remedies, and were convinced that the disease was feigned, as the pupil contracted perfectly. He assured them, however, that he could not see, thanked them for their care of him, and asked for the application of new remedies. He was sent to the superior medical officers of Thionville. They were also convinced that it was a fraud, but hearing the course that was pursued, they determined on a last trial. He was put on the bank of a river, and ordered to walk forward. He did so, and fell into the water, from which he was immediately taken by two boatmen stationed for that purpose. Convinced of his blindness, but unable to explain the dilations and contractions of the pupil, the surgeons gave him a discharge, but warned him, at the same time that, if the disease was feigned, it would prove of no avail, as it would, sooner or later, be ascertained that he was not blind. They offered him another if he would confess the fraud. He hesitated at first, but being assured that they would keep their word, he took up a book and read.

The illusions of the insane are often exceedingly whimsical. A lunatic once refused to eat anything for several days, alleging that "Dead men never eat." After all attempts to persuade him to eat had failed, he was left alone for a time, when persons entered his room dressed in white shrouds, and, after talking in his presence, to persuade him that they were dead men or ghosts, sat down to table and began to eat. When his curiosity was excited by the strange scene, they invited him, as belonging to their own state of existence, to partake of the repast. At first he

expressed surprise, but at length sat down, ate voraciously, fell asleep, and awoke with a consciousness that he was alive.

Writers who insist on insanity being a disease of the mind adduce, as proofs, the absence of any characteristic phenomena uniformly exhibited by post-mortem examinations, as connected with insanity; and bring forward cases where, after death, no alteration in the natural texture of the organ could be discovered. Lunatics, they allege, live many years in high health, whilst the mind is in a state of high excitement. Those men are of opinion that madness is caused by such circumstances as influence the mind—joy, grief, care, violent passions, &c., and that it is cured by moral treatment suited to the disease of the mind, often too, without any measures adapted to the physical disorders. Of this class, the most zealous advocate is Professor Heinroth, who insists that moral depravity is the essential cause of madness. With him guilt and sin are its real sources. Inordinate passions, want of a proper mild discipline, give a preponderance to the infirmities of our nature, which render them frequently so impetuous as to destroy all restraint, on the total loss of which, even over the actions of the mind itself, consists that subversion of the understanding which, he says, constitutes insanity. This doctrine of Heinroth's has met with a warm opponent in Jacobi, who adduces cases where insanity occurred in persons remarkable for their moral and religious lives.

Foville, physician to the lunatic asylum for the department of Seine Inférieure, at Rouen, is a strong advocate for the material origin of insanity, and, though medical men are sometimes accused of a desire to materialize too much, we think that Foville has set the question in its true and proper light.

“ Some writers have endeavoured to turn altogether from the investigation of the material organic cause of madness, resting on the belief that this disease is not a physical disease, or material disease, but rather a disease of the soul.

“ This singular proposition is evidently an absurd profession of materialism; is it not in fact to deprive the soul of its most noble attributes, to degrade and debase it to the level of matter, to suppose it susceptible of alteration ?

“ The soul should be a stranger to our researches, but, considering the brain as the material instrument of its manifestation, as the organ of intelligence, we seek in this organ the cause of the derangement which occurs in its functions.”

Pinel placed the primary seat of insanity in the stomach and intestines, from which he supposed it radiated, and ultimately de-

ranged the understanding; but, having found, in the heads of mad people, appearances similar to those found in other diseases after death, he was inclined to give up the hope of ever being able to account for it by pathological appearances, an opinion in which Esquirol is disposed to acquiesce. Indeed, such has been the difficulty of localizing insanity, that many have altogether given up the idea. Bayle thinks its primary seat is the brain, but fixes it in the meninges. Cullen, Cox, Haslam, Foville and Georget, regard it as an idiopathic affection of the brain, the nature of the organic alteration being unknown.

Georget says that, from his own experience and that of others, he concludes that among 100 lunatics 99 at least have been so from the influence of affections or moral causes. There is an expression at Salpêtrière which has almost passed into a proverb, "qu'on perd la tête par les révoltes d'esprit." Pinel found moral causes to operate in the proportion to physical, as 464 to 219, and the first question which he generally put to patients, who still preserved some intelligence, was, "Have you undergone any vexation or disappointment?" The reply was seldom in the negative. "It is," he says, "in the age in which the mind is most susceptible of strong feelings, in which the passions are excited by the strongest interests, that madness is powerfully displayed. Children, calm and without anxiety, incapable of long and extensive combinations of thought, not yet initiated into the troubles of life, and old men, whom the now vanishing illusions of their preceding age, and the increasing physical and moral weakness, render indifferent as to events, are but rarely affected." Moral causes are considered to act more powerfully on women, physical on men.

The popular opinion in this country and the continent is, that it is a disease of the mind itself independent of any corporeal malady, but with the scientific men of both countries this is entirely abandoned, the opinion being, that it depends upon disease of the brain and its membranes.

It appears, by the tables which Esquirol has supplied, that more than one-half the entire number of cases admitted under his care are ascribed to moral causes, which, as they operate more generally in a civilized than in a savage state, account for the prevalence of insanity in the former condition. During the eventful times of the conscription in France, great numbers of insane were driven into the public asylums. "The influence of our political misfortunes," says Esquirol, "has been so great, that I could illustrate the history of our revolution from the taking of the Bastille to the last appearance of Bonaparte, by describing in a series the cases of lunatics whose mental derangement was in connec-

tion with the succession of events." There are mad people in whom it is difficult to discover any hallucination, but there are none in whom the moral affections are not disordered; in this particular Esquirol says he never met with an exception.

Though religion has long been considered a fruitful source of insanity, the data upon which this opinion rests are not quite conclusive. Roman Catholics are supposed by some to enjoy an immunity from it. At the Cork Asylum, where the Roman Catholics are to Protestants as 10 to 1, Dr. Hallaran says no instance has occurred to him of religious madness in the former, but that, whenever religious madness did exist, it was always among the Protestant inmates. Guislain makes a similar report as regards the Low Countries. The Prussian provinces on the Rhine afford a good opportunity of testing the accuracy of this. Jacobi has paid considerable attention to this subject, and is inclined to doubt the correctness of the reports which Guislain and others have made. He states, that in a Catholic population the proportion of lunatics compared with those in a Lutheran population is 11 to 10, which gives a preponderance to Catholics.

In the Quakers' Retreat, at York, Tuke says, that since 1811 they had but three cases of insanity from religion, and those cases were people of weakly constitutions, and not educated in their society, so that with them religious madness is very rare. From the returns made of all the Quakers in England and Scotland, it appears that the number does not exceed 23,000; of these there have not been of late years, on an average, more than 60 confined as lunatics in the Retreat. This, it appears, gives about three insane for every 1000, a proportion much higher than any which obtains in the general population of the country. In attempting to account for this apparent augmentation among the Quakers, Tuke says,

"I should demur to the data upon which the proportion of lunatics in England rests. I believe the parliamentary returns to be so incorrect as to afford no fair grounds for the estimate which is made; whilst the knowledge of each other which prevails in our society, and the character of the Retreat, brings nearly all the cases which occur among us into the calculation. Moral improprieties connected with mental peculiarities are more easily and more frequently stamped as insanity amongst us than in the world at large, while the care taken of our poor prevents any individual of that class from being allowed to roam at large or remain at home, on account of the expense of maintaining him in our asylums."

There is an opinion afloat that insanity is on the increase in this country, and the opinion is in some degree borne out by a comparison of late registers with those of an older date. Dr.

Powell, who first directed attention to this particular department, grounded his belief of a positive increase on the apparent augmentation in the London registers for lunatics. These included all lunatics confined in private asylums throughout England, which gave an increase as compared with eight quinquennial periods from 1775 to 1814; the aggregate for the former being 1783, for the latter 3647. This is a conclusion which Dr. Burrows says is not borne out by facts, as the register does not comprehend lunatics confined in unlicensed houses. Comparing the lunatics with the census of the population for 1800, Dr. Powell arrived at the conclusion, that there was one lunatic to 7300 persons, a conclusion which shows how absurd it was to attempt a statistic account of insanity with means so inadequate. Pinel thought that the increase in the returns of the insane might be accounted for in various ways—irregularity in former returns, and increase of the inmates of asylums, from the better arrangements which now prevail. He says that the greater the liberty in any country, the greater the number of insane is likely to be.

In 1806 a select committee was appointed to inquire into this subject, and in the report which they sent in, they gave for England and Wales an aggregate of 2248 lunatics. In 1815 another report was made, which gave nearly double the number, but which increase should be ascribed to the inaccuracy of former returns rather than to any positive augmentation in the number of the insane.

By the returns which were made in 1819, Dr. Burrows found the aggregate of lunatics confined in public hospitals and asylums to be 1456, in private asylums 2585, in all for England and Wales 4041, to which he added half the number for those confined in private asylums not registered. In this way he raised the whole number to 6000, which he considered the nearest approximation to the total number of lunatics in Great Britain, and which gives us a proportion of about 1 lunatic in 2000 persons.

In 1826 Sir A. Halliday made a return of the lunatics confined in public and private asylums in England and Wales, giving as the gross amount 4782, to which he adds those of whom the law takes no notice, as living with their friends, and concludes, from an experience of twenty-five years, that the number confined in England and Wales, in public and private asylums, exceeds 8000; yet, with this apparent augmentation, he is not disposed to believe that insanity is on the increase with us. He estimates the insane of Scotland at 3700.

In 1829 he sent in another report, which gave for England and

Wales 6806 lunatics, and rates the idiots at 5741, to which he adds for places not returned 1500, in all 14,000. The proportion of insane to the population is, he says—England 1 in 1000; Wales 1 in 800; Scotland 1 in 574. In the gross amount of 14,000, the paupers are estimated at 11,000.

Some very curious returns have been made, showing the influence of different habits and pursuits in life in producing insanity. In twelve English counties where the population is employed in agriculture, the proportion of insane to the general population is 1 in 820, and the lunatics are to idiots as 5 to 7. In twelve counties where the people are differently employed, the insane are to the population as 1 to 1200. People who work in mines are reported to be less liable to insanity than those who work on the surface. Is it because they are less exposed to the exciting influences of a busy life, which are ever passing around us in our intercourse with the world, and from which miners are for a great portion of their life withdrawn?

In six maritime counties the lunatics are to the population as 1 to 1000, and idiots are to lunatics as 2 to 1; while in six counties of North Wales there are 7 idiots to 1 lunatic, and 1 lunatic to 850.

In South Wales the proportion of lunatics to the population is 1 to 750, and idiots are to the insane as 1 to 8½. Throughout Wales, as in many parts of England, there is a preponderance on the side of female lunatics over males; female idiots are also more numerous than males; in Wales the excess is very great. The explanation afforded for this is, that nearly half the population is employed in agriculture. There is a general impression that, in agricultural districts, where people work hard and where females are employed in labour, the violent exertions required in such occupations produce distortion of the body, and may very materially affect the growth and development of the brain, and even the form of the cranium *in utero*. It is well known that females are obliged to work during the whole of their pregnancy, and there can be no doubt of the injury which such occupations must entail on the offspring.

According to a return made for Scotland in 1821, the proportion of lunatics to the population is 1 to 474, but little reliance can be placed on this as a correct estimate of the state of insanity there.

By the returns which have been made for the French hospitals, from 1801 up to 1823, there is a steady and progressive increase. The first return gave, in 1801, 1070 lunatics, and the last, in 1823, gave 2493. Rating the population at 32 millions, Esquirol estimates the insane as 1 in 1000. In France,

as in England, the operating causes vary very much. Of 336 lunatics in his establishment, Esquirol says, there were only 3 from drunkenness. It, however, prevails as an exciting cause to a great degree in *Salpetrière*, where women only are admitted, and of whom one-twelfth part are girls of the town. We find also, by the reports which Dr. Whally has made on the effect of drunkenness, that it prevails to a great extent in *Lancaster infirmary*.

All the attempts which have hitherto been made to account for insanity by pathological appearances have proved hopeless. In examining the morbid results, we are led to consider how the mental disease could have resulted from them; but here the nature of the subject completely baffles us. In cases of other diseases, as of the lungs, whose functions are now well understood, the morbid change accounts for the derangement, but the case is quite different when the mind is affected. We are ignorant of the manner in which it performs its functions, and of the connection between the organic agents and the operations commonly referred to it. Hence, some are inclined to doubt whether the phenomena of insanity are the result of changes discovered in the brain, and view them as the result of the diseased operations of the mind, believing that hardness of brain and thickening of membranes are only formed after mental disease of long standing, and are altogether wanting in recent cases of insanity; upon these grounds mental disease is considered as a deviation from the healthy state, different from that which anatomy exhibits.

The different states of the intestinal canal have been considered a fruitful source of insanity, both to the rich and the poor—to the former, from over-indulgence; to the latter, from very opposite causes—low diet, bad food, cold, constipation. Worms have been viewed as producing it, because, in some cases, mad people were cured, on the expulsion of worms by the intestines. Esquirol records two cases of this kind. It was also a popular belief that it is more intimately connected with disease of the abdominal viscera than the thoracic, but this has been proved not to be the fact. In 168 cases Esquirol found only 2 cases of liver-complaint, whilst in the same number he found 65 cases of disease of the lungs, and he is disposed to believe that insanity is attended by disease of the thoracic viscera in 2 cases out of 8. To this opinion Georget is inclined, who adds, that one-half of the lunatics who die at *Salpetrière* are cut off by phthisis. In some of those patients it is rather curious that, where large excavations are found to exist after death, no expectoration took place during life. Greding found in 100 maniacs, 40 affected with phthisis; of the whole number, 76 had effusion into one or other cavity of the thorax.

In the Dutch States, the number of insane, from 1820 to 1825, was 4520. Guislain is disposed to ascribe the increase of insanity to the positive augmentation which has taken place in the population since the war, by which the number may be augmented in the ratio of the population. He agrees with Sir A. Halliday, that though a temporary augmentation may take place, from the pressure of circumstances, there is no danger of its permanently progressive increase.

The returns afforded by the Prussian States, if correct, should necessarily alarm us, but Jacobi, who has had opportunities of judging of their fidelity, attaches but little faith to them. The proportion of lunatics there to the population, is 1 in 666½.

Perhaps the best statistics are supplied by the government of Norway. In 1825 returns were ordered of the sex, age, situation, and number of insane. The report was drawn up by Dr. Holst, and published in 1828. The lunatics are to the population as 1 to 551. Here is a marked difference as compared with England and France. The population of Norway is employed much in agriculture and rearing cattle, embosomed in mountains, and without any manufacturing towns. These are to be taken into account in considering the comparative state of insanity there, in comparison with other countries.

From Spain we are without any satisfactory returns, while we find the Italian States giving only 1 in 4879. Here we find that, where insanity is scarce, idiotism is always found to predominate, more especially in Spain and Portugal. In New York the insane were as 1 to 721 of the population.

With respect to the treatment of this very distressing affection, we shall endeavour to show that our only hopes of cure rest upon an early application for proper medical advice. The average duration of the complaint under the care of Pinel was from five to six months, but the greatest number of recoveries took place in the first month. This is also the opinion of Esquirol. The greatest amount of recoveries is obtained in the first two years, but the mean duration is less than one, and after the third year, the chance of cure is scarcely 1 in 30. This is a conclusion at which Esquirol arrived, founded on an experience from 1804 to 1813 at Salpêtrière. A similar conclusion has been come to at the Gloucester Asylum.

The most favourable age for recoveries is from 25 to 30, but women frequently recover after 45; and there are four cases recorded at Charenton of recoveries where each patient was 70 years old. Writers in general admit that recoveries are more frequent in women than men.

Dr. Burrows gives a report of cures in recent cases 91 in 100, and in 64 old cases 19 cures. This is considered by some as much too great, and they account for it by supposing, that many were discharged before a complete cure was effected.

Esquirol states that, out of the gross amount of admissions at Bicêtre, of 12,592, 4968 recovered.

At Bethlem, St. Luke's, and the York asylum, the admissions from 1748 to 1814 were 16,516, of whom 5918 recovered. From this it appears that the cures in England were formerly fewer than in France.

In Lancaster there were admitted, from 1817 to 1832, 1750 lunatics; of these, 597 were cured, a proportion of about 40 in 100.

In the Retreat, near York, from 1812 to 1833 inclusive, 334 were admitted. Of these, 168 were cured, 50 died, 87 removed, 10 improved, 69 remained. Here the probability of recoveries in recent cases is 9 to 1.

Insanity is not reckoned among the diseases injurious to life. In this state the brain, though unfit for intellectual operations, is able to carry on other processes dependent on it, but which are subservient to physical existence.

In 1812 there were at Bicêtre 1 who was there 56 years, 3 upwards of 40 years, 21 more than 30 years, 50 upwards of 20 years, and 150 for 10 years.

The dates of entry for 7 cases, at Salprière, were from 50 to 57 years, 11 from 50 to 60 years, and 17 from 40 to 50.

The admissions of males to females are, at Charenton, as 3 to 2. At Bicêtre the case is reversed, females are to males as 3 to 2. In the South of France there are more females than males in asylums; the contrary obtains in the North; but throughout France the females are to males as 14 to 11. In Spain there is an excess of females of one-fifth over males. In Italy the males predominate. According to the returns which Guislain has made of Holland and Belgium, females are to males as 34 to 29.

In Great Britain and Ireland the males are to females as 13 to 12, and in the United States the males are to females as 2 to 1. Esquirol shows, from the gross amount of lunatics confined all over Europe, of 76,526, that there were 37,825 males, and 38,701 females, about 37 to 38, without the fraction.

Insanity is not limited to any particular age; it may begin as early as two years of age, but does not become common until 15. Georget has collected, from the admissions in France and England, from the age of 10 to 70, 4409 patients, and the average of admissions for every 10 years:—

From	10 years to 20	.	.	.	.	.	.	356
20	..	30	.	.	.	.	.	1106
30	..	40	.	.	.	.	.	1416
40	..	50	.	.	.	.	.	861
50	..	60	.	.	.	.	.	461
60	..	70	.	.	.	.	.	174
70 and upwards								95
								4409

There is one leading feature in the management of the insane in which all writers seem to agree—seclusion. Pinel dwells on it as the most rational mode of cure, and considers the separation from friends as indispensable. Willis changed all the servants of George III. Confinement is also necessary; but there is still considerable difference of opinion how far it should be carried.

A system of treatment is adopted at Gheel in Belgium, which, if acted on in other countries, would doubtless be productive of great advantages. Gheel is a small village, where 500 or 600 lunatics are spread among the cottages of the peasants. Each patient is to labour in the fields or gardens for a certain number of hours every day. When not employed they are allowed to walk about without restraint, and are summoned to their homes by a village bell. The peasants are bound to treat them with kindness, and are rewarded according to the care they take of them.

A farmer once obtained in Scotland a great reputation for curing insanity. He fastened his patients to his plough, and made them work his grounds, and by degrees brought the most intemperate to reason. Music has been employed with variable success in the treatment of the insane. There are two states in which it may be useful; first, when the invalid himself plays, his attention is for a time agreeably occupied; and next, when another person plays, pleasing sensations are thus commonly excited. Frank employed it largely, and found it of great advantage in mania, while Esquirol states, that he found it in similar states to produce raving fits. There is an impression with the majority of the profession, that in mania it is too exciting, but in states of lethargy or apathy it may be used with benefit. Dr. Cox employed it largely in his establishment, but his successor, Dr. Bompas, has altogether discontinued it.

The Quakers, in the Retreat at York, were the first who discontinued the use of chains; and the only restraint used there is, seclusion, a straight-waistcoat, shower-bath, and a few occasional

privations. Pinel, who may fairly be considered as the founder of this mild and successful system of cure, gives many cases to prove its good effects.

"A lunatic," he says, "in the vigour of his age, and of great strength, who had been seized by his family, tied, and brought bound in a carriage, so terrified his conductors, that no one dared approach him to untie him, and conduct him to his cell. The steward sent the keepers away, talked some time with him, and gained his confidence, and, after being unbound, he permitted himself to be conducted quietly to his new abode. The steward gained every day more influence over his mind, became his confidant, and succeeded in restoring him to reason and to the bosom of his family, of which he constitutes the chief happiness."

With respect to the frequency of insanity in the different states and conditions of life, Esquirol has supplied some interesting returns:—For the three years, 1826—1828, there were admitted into Charenton 619 patients; of these, 282 were married, 293 never married, and 44 widowed. The number of men was 386, women 253. Of the men 206 were unmarried, and 87 of the women, which shows celibacy to be a fruitful source of insanity.

Another large class, composing the inmates of this establishment, is made up of officers and soldiers. For the three years above mentioned, there were 49 officers and 47 soldiers admitted, a proportion exorbitantly great, considering the relative number of each class. Hereditary insanity is here estimated at one-seventh of the admissions.

From the review which we have now taken of the statistics of insanity in the different countries of Europe, we do not think that the opinion advanced by some writers, of a positive and permanent increase in that painful and distressing affection, is at all supported by facts. That there is an apparent increase in the number returned of late, as compared with older records, is quite clear, but this is only what is manifest in every other department of inquiry, when attention is particularly directed to a subject previously much neglected. The question of insanity was hitherto surrounded with so many delicate and distressing associations, that many cases have altogether escaped notice. And when we consider the system of treatment which then universally obtained, we cannot wonder that the insane were allowed to drag out a miserable existence in the society of friends, rather than be consigned to the hopeless alternative of chains and a dungeon. The improvements which a mild but decisive system of treatment, first adopted by those quiet unobtrusive men, the Quakers,

in the Retreat at York, have at length forced themselves on general attention. It is now the prevailing system throughout Europe, at Charenton, Salpetrière, Bicêtre, St. Yon, in France, and in all our own institutions. Those asylums are now so much improved in their internal economy and comforts, and the chance of cure so great, when attention is early directed to it, that cases are instantly sent thither, which, under the former bad arrangements, would never have reached them. In this way the apparent increase may be accounted for; besides which, slight shades of mental aberration are now classed under one or other form of madness, which probably, at a period when the subject was not so well understood, would not be classed at all under any form of insanity. These, with other temporary causes, will occasionally give a slight increase in the returns, which is often mistaken for a progressive augmentation in this painful disease.

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ART. IV.—*Histoire du Pape Pius VII.* Par M. le Chevalier d'Artaud, Ancien Chargé d'Affaires à Rome, à Florence, et à Vienne, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, de l'Académie della Crusca et de Gottingen. Paris. 1836. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE personal and literary character of the author of these volumes is so highly and deservedly esteemed, as to command, at all times, for any production from his pen, a more than ordinary degree of public attention. But at the present moment, when the politico-religious parties in our own country stand opposed to each other in such formidable array, and when every reflecting mind is tremblingly alive to the consequences of victory or defeat, a work which gives so deep an insight into the policy of the Court of Rome, which exposes its weakness and unmasks its power, cannot fail to command for its readers the philosopher, the legislator and the divine.

Attached to the celebrated diplomatist M. Cacault, in the capacity of private and confidential secretary, and long honoured with that gentleman's friendship, M. Artaud possessed peculiar facilities for his present work, and of these he has availed himself with great judgment and ability. From an enormous mass of documents, public and private, he has selected nearly two hundred highly interesting and curious papers, all hitherto unpublished, and inserted them according to their respective dates in the body of his work.

Once in possession of his materials, two modes of employing

them presented themselves to the author's choice. By a clear but concise analysis of his documents, a judicious selection of their most striking passages, and a few apt and general reflexions, uniting the whole, he might have effected what many of those writers have done, who have transmitted to posterity the actions of celebrated characters. Nor, like the great historians of antiquity, who attribute to their heroes harangues which are purely ideal—the mere creations of the writers' vivid imagination—had M. Artaud to depend upon the possession of a like talent; the very words themselves, as they fell from the lips of his personages, lay before him, and he could, therefore, easily undertake to present them to the public; a little care in chronological arrangement, and the addition of a few explanatory and illustrative notes, would have completed this by no means difficult or laborious task. On the other hand, by a faithful transcript of the correspondence, speeches, addresses, reports, and recriminations of the parties, he would exhibit a far more lively portraiture of their characters, views, prejudices, and predilections, and by thus making each of them, as it were, his own biographer, would furnish his readers with unquestionable and incontrovertible data from which to form an opinion touching their vices or their virtues, their demerits or their deserts. The correct judgment and tried experience of M. Artaud could not but convince him of the superior advantages of the latter mode of treating his subject, and he has accordingly adopted it. In the present work, therefore, we do not see the great political characters of our times in one point of view only; it is not Bonaparte alone who speaks, but the general—the first consul—the emperor—and by this self-delineation we are enabled to contemplate him throughout the successive phases of his short but brilliant career. Imperturbable amid all the political changes, the sad reverses, and distressing mortifications to which he was subjected, Pius VII. the head of the Catholic church, the representative of St. Peter, constantly preserves his dignity, and equally commands our respect whether crossing the Alps, at the invitation or rather order of Bonaparte, or abashing the irreverence of the thoughtless Parisians, or once more issuing his briefs and apostolical instructions from the papal chair. With equal fidelity of pencil are sketched the portraits of the most celebrated ministers of the day, men whose superiority of genius or political sagacity has enabled them to take so large a share either in producing or repairing the misfortunes of Europe.

The author's next care was the due arrangement of his various facts, and to this unpresuming task he appears to have confined himself. It must not, however, be supposed, that he has never

hazarded his own opinion, or that he has been a listless or unconcerned relator of so many circumstances calculated to create a deep and powerful interest. On the contrary, by occasionally interrupting the thread of his narration by a few well-timed reflexions, he has sufficiently shown that he is not the mere echo of the selfish or tyrannical sentiments of others, and that, although fighting in the private ranks, he did not take the less interest in the conduct and issue of the contest. In many instances, yielding to the emotions excited within his breast by the splendour of military renown, or by the milder yet not less powerful radiancy of the apostolic virtues, he has left his readers to form their own opinions and to draw their own conclusions.

While, therefore, this work cannot be considered, in one point of view, as entirely his own, it nevertheless becomes virtually so, by the author's vouching for the accuracy of the facts therein related—a responsibility which he takes upon himself the more willingly, from his desire not to compromise any noble personages to whom he might have wished to dedicate his volumes.

Although our author has most scrupulously avoided any observations which might give offence to the memory of that extraordinary man who lately ruled the destinies of France, with so much glory for himself and her, although he has been equally careful not to wound the feelings of the friends and relatives of the hero now no more, yet when that name becomes mixed up with important facts, and when the integrity of history forbids the suppression of those facts, our author has not hesitated to say: “*He was in such a place and acted thus.*”

Equally anxious has M. Artaud been to diffuse a splendour around the lofty qualities of Pius VII., and if in one single instance that pontiff appears to have incurred blame, since an accusatory document has found its place in these volumes, he soon recovered from that state of bodily illness and exhaustion which had operated so unfavourably on his mind, and again astonished all around him by his Christian, we had almost said celestial, virtues. Had the author, as he himself very justly observes, persisted in a useless silence, he would have been precluded in the sequel from applauding one of the most heroic actions, and one of the most glorious and affecting instances of repentance and contrition, ever exhibited to the admiration of mankind, or deserving the favour of the Most High.

Having thus stated our opinion of the plan and general merits of this interesting work, we shall proceed to examine its contents more in detail, and, although the facts therein related are so numerous and important, both in a political and a moral point of view, that many more pages than are allotted to us would be too

few to convey an adequate idea of them, we shall endeavour to compress as many of them as possible within our brief article.

After a few introductory observations upon the reign of Pius VII., the author proceeds to state that his late holiness was born at Cesena, in the legation of Forli, on the 14th August, 1742, his father being Count Scipio Chiaramonte, and his mother the Countess Jane Ghini. Having been destined from his youth to the austerities of the cloister, he entered upon his theological studies at Parma, and on the 20th August, 1758, took the habit of St. Benedict. But "to some kind of men, their virtues serve them but as enemies;" and so it was with Chiaramonte, whose amiable qualities and superior talents but excited the jealousy of his brethren, and they therefore lost no opportunity of gratifying their malignity, by subjecting him to every species of annoyance and mortification. How painful it is thus to see verified the saying of the divine Ariosto, that discord, intrigue, and vice, usually take up their abode in that place in which nought should reside but fraternal love, tranquillity, and virtue. Fortunate was it for our monk, that he found a protector in Pius VI., who, indignant at the unworthy treatment of his fellow citizen and relation, conferred upon him, by a brief, the title of *Abbate*; shortly after nominated him bishop of Tivoli; upon the death of Cardinal Bondi, translated him to the bishopric of Imola; and on the 14th February, 1785, presented him with a cardinal's hat.

The author now proceeds to describe the war in Italy, and treats at length of the armistice concluded at Bologna between the holy see and the French republic; the new victories of Bonaparte; the invasion of the Roman States; the famous treaty of Tolentino; the tumults at Rome, in which General Duphot fell a victim; and the inexcusable conduct of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, and others of his countrymen. The consequence of this unhappy event was the marching of General Berthier upon Rome, a procedure which plainly showed that the Directory, in violation of every principle of political integrity and honour, had been the real instigators of the conspiracy concocted against the pope, in order that they might have a pretext for laying *main basse* upon some property belonging to the papal see, and which was deposited with a Genoese banker:—

"By a decree of the Directory," says our author, "it was ordered, that the diamonds formerly given in pledge by the pope to the French republic, and which had been afterwards restored to him, should be seized at Genoa, where they still remained, converted into specie, and transmitted to the military chest of the army of Italy. M. Faypoult was instructed to employ every possible means, even force, to obtain possession of them."

The Roman republic was now proclaimed, and the unhappy Pius VI. being forced from Rome, was first conducted to Siena, then to the Chartreuse of Florence, and after the tumults at Imola and the celebrated homily of Cardinal Chiaramonte, to Valenza, where he died on the 29th of August, 1799. The description of this venerable pontiff's departure from Rome is so touching that we cannot omit its insertion here.

"The unfortunate sovereign, who might have avoided his deplorable fate by taking the road to Naples, was declared a prisoner. He was told, with unfeeling irony, that his predilection for travel was now about to be indulged. By an order of the Directory, the pope, at first a captive in his own apartments, was despoiled of his rings even to the pontifical signet, and was commanded to quit Rome. A violent storm raged on the night fixed for his departure; nevertheless, at four o'clock in the morning of the 20th of February, the head of the Catholic Church, oppressed by misfortunes, and enfeebled by years, was forced to enter a carriage, and the gates of the court yard were opened just sufficient to allow the vehicle to pass; but no sooner did the pontiff appear in the open street, on his way to the Porta Angelica, than he found a vast concourse of his subjects, who courageously testified to him their veneration and their love."

An interesting account follows of the conclave of Venice, of the disputes between the cardinals and Monsignore Gonsalvi, a most able politician, who had been appointed secretary to the conclave—and of the election, principally through Gonsalvi's means, of the Cardinal Chiaramonte, who, out of gratitude to the memory of his benefactor, the late pope, assumed the name of Pius VII. The newly chosen pontiff published his *Encyclica*, or apostolic address, and departed from Venice for Rome, which city he entered on the third of July, and immediately commenced his wise and paternal government. The battle of Marengo shortly followed, and the first consul announced that he was disposed to treat with the pope, for which object M. Cacault arrived at Rome, having our author as his secretary of legation. A characteristic trait of Bonaparte is here related. Upon taking leave of the first consul, M. Cacault asked him in what manner he should treat the pope. "Treat him," replied the general, "as if he had two hundred thousand men at his command. You know," continued he, "that, in the month of October, 1796, I wrote to you that I was more ambitious to be the saviour of the holy see than its destroyer."

This embassy, however, was instructed to depart from Rome unless the concordat was signed within three days, and in consequence M. Cacault quitted Rome for Florence, leaving behind him the secretary of legation, while Gonsalvi, now a cardinal, set

off for Paris. After drawing a parallel between the concordats of Leo X. and Francis I. and that of 1801, the author proceeds to describe the parties who had most influence with the pope at this time—the removal from Rome of Cardinal Maury by order of the first consul—the doubts of the pope as to the sincerity and good faith of the French government, and the opinions of the Romans themselves upon the recent concordat. The following is one of the pasquinades upon the occasion:—

“ *Pio (VI.) per conservar la fede,  
Perde la sede.* ”

“ *Pio (VII.) per conservar la sede,  
Perde la fede.* ”

The Cardinal Gonsalvi at length requested and obtained leave to present the concordat to the first consul. The minister Cacault then resumed his functions in Rome, whither Cardinal Gonsalvi also returned. Cardinal Caprara proceeded to France as legate *à latere*. The author transcribes in this place the letter written by the fourteen French bishops who had taken refuge in England, in answer to the pope's ordinances. He also gives the report of M. Bernier upon the same subject, as well as that of an agent respecting the French bishops who had fled into Germany. Then follows the firm answer of the pope to a letter from the first consul.

Pius VII. had given instructions to Cardinal Caprara, to require that the body of the late pope might be transported to Rome. The request was immediately complied with, and orders were given that the remains of that pontiff should be delivered to Monsignore Spina. An account then follows of the arrival of the body at Rome and its magnificent interment. The following will not be read without interest.

“ They then proceeded to the recognition of the body. After opening both coffins, the one of wood and the other of lead, the body was discovered entire; but as the coffin had, from want of due care, been turned over, and carried in that position, a part of the face, and particularly the nose, which rested upon the lead, had undergone some change. Near the hands was found a Latin inscription, placed there by Monsignore Marotti, designating the place where the pontiff's death had taken place. In this paper were remarked words which were doubtless at the time unknown to the Directory, so true is it, that under the very eyes of the fiercest tyrants it is possible to transmit their perfidy and brutality to the indignation of posterity. The expressions were as follows:

‘ *In arce in qua  
Obses Galborum custodiebatur.* ’ ”

Prudence perhaps suggested the substitution of the milder term *obses* for the real one *captivus*.

About this time several important events took place :—the promulgation of the concordat by the first consul ; the abdication of Charles Emanuel IV., king of Sardinia ; the succession of his brother, Victor Emanuel ; and the negotiations with England relative to the nomination of the grand-master of Malta.

Upon restoring Benevento and Ponte Corvo to the holy see, Bonaparte required as an equivalent five cardinal's hats for France. M. Talleyrand also, that able, astute, and redoubtable diplomatist, had his secular habit restored to him, a circumstance which excited much disapprobation and which was productive of important consequences. The city of Pesaro was also given back to the pope, who about this time nominated as grand-master of the order of Malta the Bailly Ruspoli, a choice which met with the approbation of France.

In the month of September, 1802, M. Cacault received a private letter from M. de Bourrienne, in which he announced to him that Canova was invited to proceed immediately to Paris to execute a statue of the first consul. The artist was to be perfectly at liberty as to the mode of execution ; his travelling expenses were to be defrayed ; and he was to receive for his labours the sum of 120,000 francs. Upon the letter being made known to this celebrated sculptor, he peremptorily refused to go. "It is Bonaparte," said he, "it is this man who has destroyed my country, and afterwards abandoned it to Austria. I have more than I can do here. I ask nothing from power ; besides, the winter is approaching, and I shall find my death amid the snows of Paris." After some remonstrances, however, from M. Cacault, Cauova became mollified and consented to proceed to the French capital ; an acquiescence which, it is said, was principally owing to his being told, that when Bonaparte was in Egypt, and was present at the discovery of a colossal statue, he had exclaimed, "Ah ! were I not a conqueror, I would be a sculptor." Canova's conduct during this his first visit to Paris was characterized alike by discretion and courage. At his very first introduction to the first consul, he told him that Rome languished in poverty ; that its commerce was ruined, and that the finest remains of antiquity, which it once could boast of as its own, were then in the galleries and collections of foreigners. The answer was, "I will restore Rome. The welfare of humanity is dear to me, and I will effect it."

The next concordat was that with the Italian republic. The republics of Lucca and Genoa were created. The pope had a magnificent legacy bequeathed to him by a Venetian nobleman, Monsignore Cornaro : this was a palace at Venice with all the pictures that it contained. Bonaparte also sent him as a present

two schooners, named the St. Peter and the St. Paul, for the protection of his commerce. The account of the audience given by the pope to the officers of these vessels will be found curious.

The Bailli Ruspoli having, it is supposed, from English influence, refused the appointment of grand-master of Malta, Tommasi was raised to that dignity. The situation of the pope at this time, though upon the whole satisfactory, was rendered somewhat irksome by several untoward circumstances, such as the infamous satires published against him, and the attack made upon M. Cacault, by a *facinoroso*, while passing through a by-street; and which, but for the magnanimity of that minister, might have compromised the government. The circumstance, however, which gave most umbrage to his holiness, was the recall of M. Cacault to Paris, and his being replaced by Cardinal Fesch, uncle to the first consul. It is said that the cardinal, upon his appointment, having expressed his intention to look over the correspondence with the holy see, "Read nothing," said the first consul to him, "tact is all that is necessary."

The subjects our author next proceeds to treat upon, are the re-organization of the Catholic hierarchy in Germany; the nomination of M. Chateaubriand as secretary of legation, in place of our author; the instructions given to Cardinal Fesch; the pope's letter to the first consul upon the German churches; the arrival of M. Chateaubriand at Rome, and his first emotions upon finding himself in that ancient city; the arrival of Cardinal Fesch, &c. &c. &c.

In 1804 Bonaparte determined upon assuming the imperial dignity, and invited the pope to come to Paris to consecrate and crown him. A long correspondence followed, the pope insisting upon certain conditions. Much delay ensuing, Cardinal Fesch pressed for a decided promise of departure. Conferences of two, three, and four hours in length took place with Cardinal Gonzalvi; every day fresh difficulties were started; at length the pontifical government declared that it expected a letter of invitation, which should contain unequivocal assurances of a sincere desire for the welfare of religion. The emperor then decided upon writing the following letter:—

" Most holy Father,

" The happy effect produced upon the character and moral feeling of my people by the re-establishment of the Christian religion induces me to intreat that your holiness will give me a fresh proof of the interest which you take in my welfare, and in that of this great nation, under circumstances the most important ever presented by the annals of mankind. I beg that you will, in person, impart, in the highest possible degree, the character of religion to the ceremonial of the

anointing and crowning the first emperor of the French. This ceremony will acquire an additional splendour by being performed by your holiness ; and your holiness will thereby insure both for us and our people, the blessing of that Deity, whose high will determines alike the fate of empires and of individuals.

"Your holiness is aware of the affection which I have long entertained for you, and may judge therefrom of the pleasure which this circumstance will afford me of giving you fresh proofs of it. We pray God, most holy Father, to vouchsafe you many years that you may direct and govern in your wisdom our holy mother Church.

"Your devout Son,

"*Cologne, September 15th, 1804.* (Signed) NAPOLEON."

This letter of the emperor's was carried to the pope by General Caffarelli. His holiness had required that it might be presented to him by two bishops, if Cardinal Fesch had not the duty assigned to him. However, as the general possessed a reputation for much amenity and suavity, and had also expressed great satisfaction upon the publication of the concordat, the pope received him with kindness. Some scruples, however, induced the pontiff to require another letter more explicit upon the affairs of religion, in answer to which requisition M. Talleyrand addressed Cardinal Caprara as follows :—

"The coronation of his majesty will not be the only object of this journey ; the grand interests of religion, which will be discussed in the mutual councils of his majesty and the sovereign pontiff, will constitute the principal part. The results of their deliberations cannot but prove in the highest degree advantageous to the progress of religion, and to the welfare of the state."

Encouraged by these assurances, Pius VII., adds our author, (who had now returned to Rome) pronounced an allocution in the Consistory, and with the unanimous consent of the cardinals, the time of his departure was fixed, Cardinal Gonsalvi being appointed to direct and carry on the government during the pope's absence. His holiness, therefore, set off on the 2d of November, 1804, and, having arrived at Florence, was received there with the utmost respect by the queen of Etruria. Great efforts were indeed made by an English agent to detain him in that city, or to make him defer his departure for one day, in order to afford time for establishing a *cordon sanitaire* ; for the purpose of cutting off the communications between Tuscany and Bologna, on account of an epidemic, which had broken out at Leghorn. But Pius VII. refused to interrupt his journey, considering that, having promised to arrive in France as speedily as possible, any delay would be derogatory to his dignity. On the 13th of November the pope arrived at Turin, whence he wrote to the emperor as follows :—

"My very dear Son in Jesus Christ,

"We received through the hands of Cardinal Cambacérès, at Turin, where we arrived last night at midnight, your majesty's letter of the 1st of November. Your majesty's obliging expressions, not less than your attention in deputing three distinguished personages to congratulate us upon our journey, have enabled us to bear with greater strength and cheerfulness the fatigue of travelling. We have not the least doubt of these indubitable proofs of our attachment being both agreeable to your majesty, and beneficial to the cause of religion, the only sure basis of the stability of thrones, and the happiness of nations. Faithful to our promise, we hasten on as expeditiously as possible, that we may gratify your wishes; but fatigue consequent upon the long and oppressive journey of yesterday, the horrible state of the roads, the want of horses, which is such, that part of our suite has not yet arrived, oblige us to remain one day at Turin, together with the Cardinals Fesch and Cambacérès, who are equally convinced with ourselves of this unavoidable necessity. We feel ourselves animated in this journey by a most anxious desire to become personally acquainted with your majesty, and to procure for religion and the Church advantages which may, in the history of our times, diffuse a splendour around your majesty and us. It is with these sentiments that we bestow upon your majesty, with the utmost cordiality, the paternal apostolic benediction.

"Given at Turin, November 13th, 1804,

"Of our pontificate the fifth,

"Pius P.P. VII."

The emperor's answer, dated the 20th of November, was this:

"Most holy Father,

"I have learned with the greatest pleasure, by the letter of your holiness dated from Turin, that your holiness is in good health. I am most anxious to know how your holiness has supported the fatigue of crossing the mountains. I flatter myself that in the course of this week, I shall have the happiness of seeing your holiness, and of expressing the sentiments I entertain for you. By repairing to my palace of Fontainebleau, which is on the road, I shall be enabled to enjoy that pleasure the sooner:

"Thereupon, I pray God, most holy Father, that he may vouchsafe you many years to direct and govern our holy mother Church,

"Your devout Son,

"Saint Cloud, November 20th, 1804." (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

On the 25th the pope arrived at Fontainebleau. The emperor, who was hunting, having been informed of the approach of his holiness, met him at the cross of S. Harein. They immediately proceeded to the palace, and were there received by Cardinal Caprara, and the great officers of the household. After various interviews between these two illustrious personages, the pope proceeded to visit the empress, a condescension which did not pass without censure, as being contrary to the papal dignity; but

the pope replied, "Let us do thus much for the sake of France; if we have causes of discord, let it not be occasioned by matters of etiquette. In travelling there is less etiquette than at Rome, as you well know."

On the pope's arrival at Paris, he received addresses from the president of the senate, the legislative body, and various other public assemblies, and on the 2d of December, at nine o'clock, his holiness left the Tuileries for the metropolitan church, in order to perform the august ceremony of the coronation of the emperor. M. de Pradt, who fulfilled the duties of master of the ceremonies to the clergy, and who did not quit Napoleon a single instant, asserts that throughout the whole ceremony he did nothing but gape. Upon receiving news of the coronation of the emperor, the Romans became very impatient for the return of their beloved pontiff—an impatience which they took every opportunity of expressing to the agents of the French government.

The author commences his second volume with an account of the pope's residence at the Tuileries in the pavilion of Flora, where he continued to grant audiences to the faithful, and sometimes received the emperor. He gives us a letter of congratulation sent by Pius to Napoleon on the occasion of the birth of a nephew, the son of the princess Hortense and his brother Louis. This is the same youth who has recently compromised himself so unfortunately at Strasburg. His holiness also received intelligence of the alarming inundation of the Tiber, which took place on the 31st of January, 1805—a disaster that occasioned the most serious losses, and which the Romans did not fail to attribute to the continued absence of the pope.

Whilst the holy father was making preparations for his departure, the arch-chancellor of the German empire expressed his wish that Monsignore Bernier should be appointed legate *à latere* at Ratisbon. This circumstance gave rise to the Report of M. Portalis upon the ecclesiastical demands of the pope. The discussions which ensued; the reproduction of the letter of Louis XIV. to the Cardinal de la Tremouille and to Innocent XII.; the colloquies of the pope with the emperor, are all related with graphic power. The state papers connected with this subject will be found particularly interesting. The conclusion of Napoleon's answer to the demands of the pope is very striking.

"The emperor, ever constant to the plan he has laid down for himself from the commencement, will place all his glory and all his happiness in being one of the firmest supports of the holy see, and one of the most sincere defenders of the prosperity of Christian nations. He is desirous that among the actions which have thrown a splendour around his exist-

ence, should be reckoned foremost the respect which he has constantly manifested for the Church of Rome, and his successful efforts for reconciling to it the affections and the faith of the first nation of the universe."

Our author's own reflections upon the above are admirable.

" But were such sentiments likely to last long? Will there not be always found in Napoleon, whenever the question turns upon religious matters, two distinct individuals?—the one, just, prompt, clear-headed, not above asking counsel upon questions which he had never studied, receiving with a good grace wholesome advice, and acting upon it with all the energy which accompanies an internal conviction; the other, restless, given up to a foolish pride, and a superficial knowledge, envious of the mission of the priesthood, and considering himself humiliated, inasmuch as he is not, in the intervals between battles, the pontiff of the nation, as he had been the supreme director of the army," &c.

Several circumstances had occurred to lead the Pope to apprehend that his departure from the French capital would not be permitted; this almost became certain, when a person of high rank and office, but whose name his holiness would never divulge, actually spoke to him about taking up his residence at Avignon. Although the communication was not official, Napoleon's power over the words and even the thoughts of those about him was too great to suppose it to be hazarded without his permission. The pope, therefore, replied,—

" A report has been spread, that we might be forcibly detained in France; well! deprive us of our liberty: all has been foreseen and provided against. Before leaving Rome, we signed a formal abdication, which will come into operation the moment we become a prisoner; this instrument is out of the reach of French power: it is deposited with Cardinal Pignatelli at Palermo, and so soon as the projects, now said to be meditated, are put into execution, there will remain in your hands only a poor monk, named Barnabas Chiaramonte."

His holiness, however, contrary to his fears, obtained permission to quit Paris, about the same time that Napoleon was to set off in order to be crowned King of Italy. After receiving every mark of veneration and every testimonial of esteem, from the different cities through which he passed, particularly at Châlons-sur-Saône and at Lyons, his holiness arrived safe in Rome on the 16th of May. He was received at the gate of St. Peter's by Cardinal York, though this venerable prelate was bending under the weight of fourscore years.

" After the benediction, the pontiff again approached the altar to make a last prayer before quitting the church. It would seem that, while on his knees, he was seized with a kind of ecstacy. The idea of finding himself once more in the chief temple of his capital, one hundred and twenty days after his melancholy departure from it; the recollection of

the dangers he had incurred or imagined he had incurred during so long a journey, so engrossed his every faculty, that he remained, as if immovable, at the foot of the altar. His abstraction continued; the church, which had not been lighted up, no night ceremony having been expected, gradually became dark. More than thirty thousand persons were, in the midst of this silence and the approach of night, totally unable to account for so extraordinary a circumstance. Cardinal Gonsalvi now gently arose, approached the pope, and, touching his arm, asked him if he was suffering any sudden indisposition. The pope pressed the cardinal's hand, thanked him, and assured him that this prolongation of his prayer was but the effect of excessive happiness and delight."

Soon after his arrival in Rome, the pope received a letter from Napoleon relative to Jerome Bonaparte, who had married a Protestant lady in America. This letter gave rise to several important questions and to some unpleasant feelings; but, notwithstanding this, magnificent gifts passed between the French emperor and the pontiff. The former was gratified by receiving a superb cameo representing *The Continence of Scipio*, the latter by the present of a splendid tiara.

As the emperor, however, insisted upon the pope's annulling the marriage of his brother, he was under the necessity of answering him in a very long letter, the following passages from which will not fail to be read with great interest, in this country especially:—

" Amidst an oppressive accumulation of business, we have taken every possible care and trouble in making personal research to discover if our apostolic authority could furnish us with some means of meeting your majesty's wishes, which, considering their object, it would have given us infinite satisfaction to have seconded. But, in whatever point of view we have considered the matter, the only result has been our conviction, that of all the motives which have been proposed, or which we can imagine, there is not one which holds out a hope of being able to satisfy your majesty as far as we could wish, namely, to declare the nullity of the said marriage.

" The three reports which your majesty has forwarded to us, being based upon reciprocally opposite principles, naturally destroy each other.

" In the first place, the difference of religion, considered by the church as a bar nullifying a marriage, is of no effect between *two persons who have been baptized*, although one of them may not belong to the Catholic communion.

" This bar is only of effect in marriages contracted between a Christian and an infidel. Marriages between Protestants and Catholics, although they may be *held in abhorrence* by the church, are, nevertheless, recognized by it as valid. \* \* \*

" After this research into facts, we have considered, under every point of view, whether the absence of the priest could, according to the principles of the ecclesiastical law, furnish a reason for nullity; but we have remained convinced that this motive of nullity does not exist.

"It does not, in fact, exist with respect to the place of residence of the husband. . . . It is an incontestable maxim, that, for the validity of a marriage, it suffices to observe the laws which are in force in the country where one of the two parties resides, especially when neither of the two clandestinely or fraudulently abandons his place of abode: whence it follows, that, if the laws in force in the country of the woman's residence, and in which the marriage is celebrated, be duly observed, it is not necessary to conform to those in force in the country of the man's residence, and in which the marriage has not been contracted.

"Nor can there exist a reason of nullity on account of the woman's place of residence, for the reasons above assigned."

The above passages from the letter of Pius VII. set completely at rest the question of the validity of such marriages. The decision of the pope was, however, any thing but agreeable to the emperor, who, perhaps, by way of retaliation, addressed to him a very strong letter upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy, which letter, together with the discreet answer of the pope, will be found in its place. The emperor, shortly afterwards, ordered Ancona to be occupied by the French troops, an invasion of the papal territory and rights, against which the pope protested with equal justice, eloquence, and firmness. After the famous battle of Austerlitz, another still more violent epistle was addressed by Napoleon to his holiness, in which he formally declares himself the *Emperor of Rome*. "Votre Sainteté," says he, "est souverain de Rome, mais j'en suis l'empereur." The reply of the pope is drawn up with great care, sagacity, and temper, and displays throughout a courage worthy of his character and station.

The immoderate ambition of Bonaparte now still more openly and unblushingly displayed itself by his causing his brother Joseph to enter Naples at the head of an army, and to assume the royal dignity. Times have been, in which the mere fact of possession of the crown, no matter by what means, insured the party the respect and fear of those under his sway; the case, however, is happily different in our times, and if monarchs who claim the throne by long hereditary descent, are compelled (if they wish to preserve it) to affect at least the semblance of virtues, how much more necessary is it for such as owe their sceptre to the smiles of fortune to be well-informed, learned, just, valiant, grateful for sacrifices made in their behalf, and beneficent to those learned men who have encompassed their new-made crown with the halo of genius and talent!

Sinister rumours were now very rife:—the holy see was to be transferred to Avignon or to Paris—the states of the church were to be divided between the kingdoms of Italy and Naples—the order of Malta was to be secularized—the French code

published at Rome—and the *marriage of priests* allowed. Melancholy forebodings oppressed the unhappy pontiff, who now saw himself deprived of the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, the former of which was bestowed upon M. Talleyrand and the latter upon Marshal Bernadotte. He found himself compelled to dismiss his valued friend, the Cardinal Gonsalvi, and to appoint Cardinal Casoni as his secretary of state; and lastly, he saw Francis forced to renounce the title of Emperor of Germany.

On the 15th of July, 1807, the family of the Stuarts became extinct by the death of Cardinal York. This prince, who was born in Rome on the 6th of March, 1725, was baptized in the month of May following by Pope Benedict XIII. He at first took the title of Duke of York, and, upon being invested with the purple by Benedict XIV. in 1747, assumed that of cardinal. His father, who married the grand-daughter of Sobieski, the saviour of Vienna, had bequeathed all his papers and jewels to his eldest son, Prince Charles-Edward, the Duke of York's brother, and the latter, upon the death of the prince in 1788, came into possession of them. On the death of the last of the Stuarts being notified to Napoleon, he said, "If they had but left a child eight years old, I would have replaced him upon the throne of Great Britain." M. Artaud, in a note, gives *verbatim* the cardinal's will, which has never been before published. It is too voluminous to be transcribed at length in this brief article, and we shall therefore extract the passages most important to an English reader.

"We, Henry-Benedict-Maria, son of James III., King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Bishop of Frascati, considering, &c. • • •

"We, moreover, expressly declare, that all property of whatsoever kind belonging to us, whether moveable or immoveable, money, jewels, diamonds, and orders, as well as the insignia of our crown, the decorations, valuable effects, and credits of our royal house, our own property in funds, our rights and duties of whatsoever kind they may be, belong exclusively and without reservation to us, and are of our own free property and possession, as proceeding in part from the inheritance of the ancestors of our royal house and family, and duly devolved and bequeathed unto us, and in part as acquired and saved by ourselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Finally, we purpose here to renew, and to regard and hold, as expressly inserted, our protest, preserved in the acts of the notary Cataldi, the 27th January, 1788, upon the occasion of the death of our most serene brother, relative to the transmission of our rights and succession to the throne of England in favour of the prince to whom they will by right (*de jure*) fall by proximity of blood, and by the laws of succession;

we here declare that we so transmit them to him in the most express and solemn manner. \* \* \* \*

“ Given at our residence of Frascati this day, 15th July, 1802.

“ HENRY, THE KING.”

Events of a serious character now rapidly succeeded each other. Napoleon wrote to the viceroy of Italy in very strong terms upon the affairs of Rome. The pope was supposed to be inclined to nominate Napoleon Emperor of the West. Rome was occupied by General Miollis, and Cardinal Casoni was replaced, first by Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, and soon afterwards, by Cardinal Gabrielli. And now, says our author, we have arrived at the 11th July, 1808, the day when the pope thought fit to assemble in consistory such of the cardinals as were still at Rome. He there pronounced the celebrated allocution commencing with these words, “ *Nova vulnera.*” As this interesting document has never been published, the author gives the following extract from an original copy, signed with the pontiff’s own hand, and sealed with his arms.

“ The holy father is about to exhibit to his brethren the fresh wounds which have been inflicted upon him. The last time he convoked the cardinals was on the 16th March; he then deplored the forcible removal of five of that august body: ten more have just now been torn from the capital, without, however, any crime being laid to their charge. Such is the state of slavery here, that all that we might voluntarily refuse to perform is extorted from us by violence and force of arms.” (The pope here quotes the answer he ordered to be addressed to General Lefebvre.) “ Benedict XIV. in the wars of Spain knew how to avoid becoming either an ally or an enemy. Behold the reward we have received for our fatigues in carrying the holy chrism wherewith to consecrate Napoleon ! Charlemagne is only recalled by him to our memory in order to be calumniated, for the ten years’ possession of Rome is matter of evidence. Printers are forbidden under pain of death to print anything concerning public affairs. Monsignore Cavalchini, a person of the strictest probity, has been driven from Rome, within a few hours. This wound has been opened afresh (*vulnus reconduit*) upon thinking of the departure of the cardinals. They say that when insulting the sovereign, they do not outrage the pontiff: are not the pontiff and the sovereign one and the same individual? who would dare to affirm that in attacking the King of Italy, he did not attack the Emperor of the French? But if the heavens and the earth were to fall, the word of the divine promise would not pass away.”

The author thus concludes:

“ The pope then protests with all the solemnity and earnestness possible against these outrages. He is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of his people. That people he presses to his heart and bestows upon them the kiss of peace. As to the emperor, he is conjured in the name of the Lord to remove evil from the house of Israel, to withdraw

himself from the councils of those perfidious advisers, who, under the pretext of aggrandizing the royal majesty, draw him on to eternal perdition. Let him therefore follow those better suggestions which comfort the church and which will ensure his own salvation. The prince of the apostles is supplicated to render tranquillity to the sea agitated by tempests. '*God is in the midst of his people from this time and for evermore.*'—Ps. cxxiv. v. 2."

Whilst the pope was pronouncing this celebrated allocution, a decree, dated the 6th July, had nominated Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain. On the 23rd commenced the first siege of Saragossa, and Spanish deputies arrived at Rome for the purpose of secretly congratulating the pope upon his resistance. On the 14th July Joachim Murat was proclaimed King of Naples, and his holiness was speedily enjoined to recognize him as such without delay.

Misfortunes trod upon the heels of each other. Cardinal Pacca was arrested, although the pope had conducted him into his own apartments; the papal states were incorporated with the Empire; the pope published his bull of excommunication, and at length the sovereign pontiff was seized in a manner the most brutal and disgraceful by order of Napoleon, conducted to Florence, and thence to Alexandria, then to Grenoble, Avignon, and lastly to Savona. A most interesting account of this transaction is given by Cardinal Pacca, an eye-witness, who, after describing the manner in which the soldiery broke into the palace, the interview of General Radet with the pope, and the admirable self-possession of his holiness, states that the pope and himself were forced to enter a carriage, not being allowed even time to put into it a valise with the linen necessary for their persons, and thus proceeds:—

" Shortly afterwards the pope asked me if I had any money about me. I replied, ' Your holiness saw that I was arrested in your apartment, since which arrest I was not allowed to return into mine.' Then we drew out our purses, and, notwithstanding the affliction and grief into which we were plunged at being thus torn from Rome and its beloved people, we could not refrain from laughing when we found in the purse of his holiness one *papetto*, about twenty-two French sous, and in mine, three *grossi*—little more than sixteen French sous. The pope, showing the *papetto* to General Radet, said, ' This then, is all that is left us from our principality.' "

After the battle of Wagram, Napoleon demanded a list of all those excommunicated by the pope, and seized at Rome the famous ring of the *Fisherman*, with which the pontiffs signed their decrees. Then followed his marriage with Maria Louisa, and the exile of thirteen cardinals for not approving of that marriage. Canova once more visited Paris, where he arrived on the

11th October, 1810. He had several conversations with Napoleon. The pope was now transported to Fontainebleau. Hither the Emperor soon repaired, and taking advantage of the state of physical and mental depression to which the unfortunate pontiff was reduced, he prevailed upon him to sanction the famous Concordat of 1813. On the arrival, however, of the Cardinals Pacca and Gonsalvi, at Fontainebleau, the pope recovered his former vigour and protested against the Concordat.

It is certainly a curious coincidence, that, after the issuing of the excommunication, Napoleon's affairs daily grew worse until his total ruin. At length, he thought proper to order Pius VII. to be reconducted to Rome. His journey through France was truly glorious for him. The events from this time are so well known as to need no recapitulation. We shall therefore conclude with giving the reader two more extracts, the one, extremely curious, relative to the Stuart papers, the other an account of the pope's decease.

"We consider it our duty," says our author, "to give an account of what happened with respect to the Stuart papers, left at Rome by the Cardinal of York. By the dispositions of the will, Monsignore Cesarin, Bishop of Milevi, was nominated to the entail. The latter had left the care of several trunks filled with papers to a steward, (*maestro di casta*,) who in 1809, at the time of the change in the government, kept them concealed in a garret, in order to preserve them from the French. This steward died, carrying his secret with him. About 1816, the papers were discovered by a person who had a confused knowledge of what had taken place, and who, having searched for the trunks, at last discovered them. Englishmen were always flocking to Rome: one of them, a Mr. Watson, offered to buy, for ready money, the papers of which he suspected the existence. The person in possession of them, but unlawfully so, handed them over to him for the paltry sum of one hundred and seventy Roman crowns. The bargain being concluded, the Englishman at first acted with great caution in order to accomplish his plan of carrying off the papers from the Roman States. A late consul of France, M. Stamaty, had formerly had an opportunity of secretly seeing many of those papers, at that time even partly destroyed by insects, and he has told me, that, in what he had deciphered of them he had found a voluminous correspondence with English authorities which had sent to the Stuarts many testimonials of fidelity and attachment, and even sometimes money. The correspondence with Scotland was in great confusion, and appeared to have had the most important documents abstracted. From a kind of inventory which was found, it is probable that many *lacunæ* existed. Among them, were also found several papers connected with the Court of St. Germain, about 1708, and especially some Irish documents. After having cast a rapid glance over this valuable collection, M. Stamaty acknowledged that he could not undertake to decipher with due exactness this ancient writing, nor even the more recent specimens, owing to

their having been purposely disfigured. A person who resided at Rome, and possessed both tact and discretion, and who particularly enjoyed M. Artaud's confidence, told him, that since fate had deposited these papers in faithful hands, and as, to all appearance, they had not been acquired with the view of compromising many honorable and noble families, the trunks must be embarked at Civita Vecchia, that every precaution, however, was to be taken against Mr. Denis, the English consul, or rather Mrs. Denis, who intermeddled in everything, not excepting even political matters, even more than her husband, who was almost incapacitated for filling the duties of consul. The Englishman declined following this advice. He appeared to be ignorant of the influence exercised by the British government at Rome. He was always talking, consulting, and deciphering. He was soon betrayed, and information being given to the Roman government, an inquiry was instituted into the affair, the papers were seized, with the exception of a few loose sheets, which were afterwards found in other hands. Watson vainly protested against the government order. Well informed persons assert, that the papers, after having been examined by an agent of the Court of Sardinia, (the rights of the Stuarts having passed over to the second son of Victor Amadeus III., who reigned at Turin in 1817,) were after this scrutiny sent to England."

The death of Pius VII. is thus related.

"The news of the 1st of July had announced to the Court of Vienna, that the pope was in a most alarming state of weakness. The emperor immediately ordered that the oldest and choicest of his Tokay wines should be sent from his cellars for the benefit of his holiness. As the state of the patient did not allow of his being easily moved, Louis XVIII. forwarded, at the suggestion of the ambassador, one of those mechanical beds which had just been invented in France, and which allowed the patient to be raised without inconvenience or pain . . . . As soon as the sick pontiff was placed upon this bed, he experienced relief.

"The patient was tolerably tranquil on the 18th, but on the following day, the most alarming symptoms appeared: the pope wildly pronounced the words *Savona* and *Fontainebleau*. His voice soon changed, and the sound of a few Latin words showed that he was constantly in prayer. There was no appearance, writes the ambassador, of any thing like any other agitation or disturbance than that occasioned by pain. In the evening, the patient could no longer take any nourishment, and on the 20th August at five o'clock in the morning, this life, so pure, so wise, so firm under many circumstances, became extinct. Thus died the Sovereign Pontiff Pius VII. at the age of eighty-one, after a reign of twenty-three years, five months, and six days."

We cannot too earnestly recommend M. Artaud's work to our readers. Unbiased by anything like prejudice, or party spirit, he has given a simple narrative of circumstances as they occurred, proving the authenticity of his facts by the most interesting documents that have been submitted to the public for many years.

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ART. IV.—*Naturhistorische Reise nach der West Indischen Insel Hayti, auf Kosten Sr Majestät des Kaisers von Oesterreich.*  
 Von Karl Ritter, Gartendirector in Ungarn und Mitglied mehrerer gelehrten Gesellschaften. Mit lithographirten Abbildungen. (*Travels to the West Indian Island of Hayti for the advancement of Natural History, and at the expense of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria.* By Carl Ritter, &c. &c.)  
 Stutgard. 1836.

THOUGH somewhat late in its appearance, as regards the actual time of the journey narrated herein, this volume comes before us at a moment when the affairs of Hayti begin to assume a tone of greater importance to Europe than has for many years been its fate. The curious problem—how far the negro and his descendants are qualified to take their place in civilized society, has now had a reasonable period for solution allowed to it: and the answer to this question, though still in progress, involves a point if not of greater difficulty, at least one more closely connected with our own immediate interests. The doubt whether our West India settlements are to be shortly transferred to the United States of North America has, for the present at any rate, been answered satisfactorily in the negative, by the party most capable perhaps of determining the question in one shape. The probability next arises of an Emancipation more effective than even that recently granted to our slave population in the West Indies, by their possible imitation of the example of St. Domingo, either in the subversion of European rule and establishment of separate and independent legislatures or else by their union with the government of Hayti. We cannot take upon ourselves to decide so difficult a question, and are the less disposed to hazard any conjectures upon it by the simple fact, that time will solve the riddle, at present involved in obscurity; and that inquiries so vague into the future, have already received one correction by the starting of new states, possibly new claimants, into existence, both in North and South America. Meantime, the past and present condition of Hayti, the great exemplar of negro independence, may assist us in forming a judgment on several points scarcely yet ripe for mature decision.

The interest excited by the acquisitions to natural history, furnished by the kingdom of Brazil during its temporary connection with Austria, by the ill-fated marriage of the Archduchess Louisa to Don Pedro, appears to have been great in the latter country. Our author, partaking this feeling in no ordinary degree, and burning, as he tells us, with desire to improve his

knowledge of nature, and especially in a tropical climate, readily undertook the commission to Hayti, suggested to the Imperial Court, by that well-known patriotic and scientific nobleman, Joseph von Dietrich. A collection of natural curiosities from the Imperial Cabinet, were packed in six chests, to further the views of the expedition by a propitiatory offering to the sable ruler, Christophe, with what success, our author has here explained fully and at length. So little is generally known of the past and present condition of this singularly interesting island, that we shall give ample extracts from the volume before us, as the best means of gratifying curiosity; accompanying, however, our extracts with such remarks, from later and more intimate knowledge of the scene, as to give the reader a clearer insight than the work before us, without such assistance, could furnish, of the free government of the blacks.

M. Ritter, who, it seems, is director of the imperial gardens in Hungary, as well as member of several scientific societies, left Trieste, on his mission, on board of an English vessel; and notices, as a fresh-water sailor, the varieties of weather, which was squally; and which, on one occasion, "with a fearful crash and a loud peal of thunder, brought all upon deck to behold—the two masts, with their sails, lying on the waters.". The captain, John Smard, comforted the passengers with the assurance that, had the masts not broken, the ship must have upset; so, making the best use of the mizen till the others could be repaired, they proceeded on their course, noticing whole islands of *fucus natans*, with quantities of small crabs adhering thereto; and amongst them that rare species, the *holothuria*. Paying a tribute off Trafalgar to the memory of that "hero, the great Nelson," M. Ritter, proceeds to detail the ceremony of crossing the line, which, already growing obsolete, may still possess an interest at Vienna. After something more than a two months' voyage, they made the land at Cape Nicolet, on the 14th of April.

From Nicolet to the harbour of Cape Hayti, the passage is extremely narrow, and surrounded or edged by rocks and coral reefs; often fatal, as he observes, to navigators that have surmounted "the dangers of the seas." The pilot came on board, and shortly after four negro children, one of them a girl, made fast their miserable canoe to the vessel and calmly went to sleep in it.

They neared Cape Town as the early morning broke into daylight, and the traveller thus describes the scene—

“ The sea was calm, the land inviting: a profound stillness reigned over all, and even the dash of the waves upon the coral breakers was no longer audible: a gentle breeze rippled over the waves that reflected

the ship in their watery mirror. Surrounded by fisher-boats we reached the shore, and cast anchor exactly at twelve.

“ The view, before landing, presented so interesting a scene that it is requisite to describe it here. Towards the north, we saw the majestic plain of waters, glancing light from its changeful shades, that varied from clear green to a darker hue; especially at the breakers, where the foaming waves broke up the deeper colour of the sea. To the west lay the picturesque landscape of Cape Town, which stretched, with some fortified points, northwards, to Cape Niôlet. On the south, we saw the whole distance to *Haut du Cap, la plaine du Nord*, and the neighbourhood of *Sans-Souci*, behind which last rose, as in amphitheatre, the mountain-chain, crowned with the citadel of *Henri*. Eastward, the small town of *Petite-Anse*, surrounded with its sugar plantation, invited the eye; and beyond this the prospect extended to the rocky promontory, covered with a variety of vegetation, and the gigantic palms towering distinctly to sight. Fearful crags, rising here and there, aided greatly the general effect of the picture.”

• In the harbour they were boarded, at anchor, by the commissioner of health, with the concise salutation, “ *Bon jour, Capitaine Blanc.*” He carried them ashore to the bureau of Count Limonade, for a due examination, while a ragged and barefoot negro of the Haytian guard took charge of the ship. A swarm of the curious, composed of both whites and blacks, lined, as elsewhere, the shore. The crowd presented a singular contrast of well-dressed whites mingled with half-naked negroes, and here and there relieved by a sable officer, in his uniform with gold and silver facings.

• In the office of Count Limonade, the minister for foreign affairs, the travellers were not a little surprised to find all the functionaries in uniform; the principal, with the minister at their head, in handsome suits of velvet embroidered with gold. Whilst the captain was ushered into another room to give an account of the voyagers’ objects and the vessel’s cargo, chairs were brought in for the travellers. The room was on the ground floor, and furnished in the most simple style, with merely writing tables and stools. From hence, on the captain’s return, they were referred to the office of Baron Dupuy, secretary of state, who was to introduce them to the king. The same simplicity was observable here, and a profound silence reigned throughout.

• “ The baron, a Mestizo, received us in his closet, which was hung with maps and charts; in a friendly manner. He sat there in great state; his powdered head with a small pigtail appended, the imposing green velvet coat, embroidered with gold, and of the most stylish cut, giving him altogether a ludicrous appearance.”

• Having paid this visit of form to this important personage, their next care was to seek lodgings: but, as no hotel existed, they took apartments in a coffee-house kept by a coloured woman,

who received strangers only for a week ; at the expiration of which they are expected to furnish themselves with private apartments, and provide their own kitchen.

The presents were landed on the fifth day, under the care of a negro functionary, the director of Christophe's garden at Sans-Souci, and the chests were carried on the heads of black porters to the palace : "the Baron Dupuy, in his gala-dress abovementioned," leading the procession on foot, and the travellers following, attended of course by a *posse comitatus* of rabble. At a glance from the baron, the guards withdrew their crossing weapons from before the doors, and gave them entrance. They ascended to the first floor, where our naturalist was to unpack and arrange the collection in a tolerably large room, but devoid of every thing except tables : he was assisted in his task by "some *laquais* of Christophe, who, in all but their dark complexion, resembled European cooks."

The peculiarities of the negro character, and their passion and respect for finery, when all civilized nations have abandoned it, are sufficiently displayed in these extracts ; but the jealousy which marks their dominion, and which formed a striking feature in the savage and sullen character of Christophe himself, was evinced by a trifling circumstance. The servants had quitted and left the naturalist to himself at the conclusion of his labours, and he saw, at no great distance from the window, a balcony, where two dark females were standing, but who at sight of him immediately retired. Two servants, entering the room where he was, at once closed the window so as to leave him in darkness, except the little light that gleamed through the blinds "The wonder was explained by the circumstance that the ladies were the two princesses, who had taken his appearance at the window so much amiss." He was consequently subjected to a close examination of his effects ; and even his instructions from the director of the Imperial Cabinet of Natural History of Vienna were translated by a black who had lived long in Hamburg, and spoke German well. Nothing suspicious being found therein, for probably the inspection of princesses formed no part of the Austrian views of natural history, they were returned to him. To view the interior of the island was not permitted him, especially after this unfortunate *debut* in exploration, but he was promised whatever he might desire for his collection. He did, in fact, obtain some specimens, but in the worst possible state ; the feathers clipt, &c. Some plants also were equally useless when brought to him ; nor was he more fortunate in his attempts to penetrate beyond the barriers, where he was greeted with the courteous sentence "Tournez, blanc." He seems, however, to have made some attempts to reach the country ; being, as he states, in the

very centre of natural productions, without daring to pass the limits of the town ; but his botanical researches amongst the bushes of the Cape-mountain were speedily relinquished, for one day he only saved himself from severe ill-treatment by hard running. \*

In truth, the prince, as little as the people, seemed disposed to encourage M. Ritter's labours. The valuable presents he had brought created no interest whatever, even with the former, Christophe being totally occupied with the care of his own kingdom. M. Ritter, therefore, endeavoured to cross over to the Spanish side of the island, in order to prosecute his researches there : but difficulties interposed. There was no travelling without a passport by land, and the Spaniards held no communication with their brethren by sea. \*

At the end of six weeks from their arrival, they first obtained the key of a stone house from the government. This they hired at a yearly rent of 1000 piastres, and though it swarmed with rats and mice, it was nevertheless more convenient for our author's avocations than the coffee-house, where he had remained " unfurnished with every convenience" till that time. Fortunately for himself, he some time after made the acquaintance of Marshal Stuart, an Englishman, and physician of the body to Christophe, who procured, after some trouble, M. Ritter's removal to the *Habitation Etrangère*, a building tenanted by English only, and at a short distance from the town. Here he was enabled to pursue his labours without interruption through the neighbourhood, remote, as he tells us, from political suspicions. \*

" In the concerns of life and business, (says M. Ritter,) I found discipline severe, the police well arranged, religion protected, trade and commerce flourishing, though the whites are under strong restrictions. The same regulations exist as in European (military?) towns, Every morning at five, the trumpet sounds at the *Place d'armes*. On Sundays the guard assembles, and plays a salute of Turkish music. The troops go through their exercise, overlooked by Christophe from a balcony or window. About seven, when divine service began, he went to church with his nobility, under a splendid canopy, borne by four negroes clad in silk ; by the side of each an individual of high rank walked, holding the end of a silken streamer hanging from the canopy. In the church Christophe sat with the Crown-Prince Victor at hand, and the consort of Christophe had the two princesses by her side. The noblesse surrounded them, and a numerous body of military enclosed the whole. "

" The sight was extremely striking ; the military music ceased ; at the word of command the soldiers stood up, and the service began. The swarthy clergy sung, in accompaniment with a bassoon, two clarionets, and a violin, some strophes, which were then taken up by the congregation generally. The archbishop, standing at the altar, delivered an impressive oration, apparently in good French ; and mass was performed with the usual ceremonies. Christophe then returned to the palace in form as he had issued thence, and the troops retired to their barracks. "

It will be interesting to compare the condition of the capital at the time our author visited it, with its previous and present states; especially as we perceive that an expedition is preparing in the French ports at this time, to support the claims for pecuniary compensation to that nation from the Haytiens. Amongst these last, the experiment is trying, for the first time, as to the capability of the negroes for self-government; and notwithstanding the doubts that prevail in some quarters, of their intellectual capacity, it must be confessed, that even with all the errors and faults incident to every rising people, seeking for the first principles of social government (upon which topics the light-hearted author before us appears to have touched but slightly,—and in truth there was little inducement for him),—in spite of these serious moral and social defects, we would observe, that the negroes in the time of Christophe were, comparing their previous relative condition, scarcely inferior in the art of self-government to the Greeks under the protection of Capodistrias. The French, indeed, are proverbially, if not in reality, bad colonizers; but their system of national gaiety in life, and of military rule in politics, appears at least as well calculated to give satisfaction and ensure stability for their native successors in the government, as the crude schemes of republicanism adopted so widely in South America. If a republic is, as asserted, the best of political systems, it should be remembered, that perfection is but slowly approachable; and that the state thus constituted cannot exist, till not only the wills, but the habits and capacities of the citizens are sufficiently formed for its establishment. Despotism, though the worst, is still the most effective of administrations at the commencement: and if it can but avoid (a difficult task, we admit) running into its natural tendency of tyranny, it serves, for a time at least, as the key-stone of the arch; though, like every misapplication of mechanical powers, it only destroys in the end what it was intended to unite. Thus, though never lasting, it strengthens the first institutions of political society, and keeps in subjection that mental excitement created by the fierce efforts of a nation against its former rulers and oppressors: but yet it is in its own nature destructive, and Hayti is in every sense an illustration of the fact.

“ The Cape Town, formerly Cape François, now *Cap Haytien*, was one of the most flourishing settlements in the West Indies previous to the French revolution. Wealth and luxury, theatres, concertæ, and fashions, were all, as in Paris, daily changing. This once flourishing commercial town—the mart, as it was called, of the West Indies—now (when the author visited it) lies half in ruins, an image of misery and an instance of earthly instability. In this, erewhile minor Paris, a fear-

ful feeling comes over the mind of the stranger, as he walks through the desolate streets, with only ragged negroes nigh, and each catastrophe unveils its melancholy monuments. How mournful to think, that of the population of 50,000, whereof 30,000 were slaves, the whole number at present scarcely reaches 8000, amongst whom, at the utmost, are 100 whites.”.

“ The town is built on the shores of the sea, and rises in an amphitheatre against Cape Mountain.” It is open on all sides, and only at the western extremity possesses a barrier.” The battery towards the sea is in utter decay. The town is regularly built, in a quadrangle of 6 by 400 toises. It reckons 14 streets from east to west, and 19 from north to south, and once contained 900 houses, one-third of which were of stone; now of the latter there are not 150, and in some places hovels are erected amidst the standing walls of a once splendid mansion.

The old government-house seems from its ruins to have been a handsome building. The palace of Christophe is tasteful and pretty, but not expensive. “ It is surrounded on the first floor by a gallery, shaded from the sun by an awning all round, which gives it a pleasing effect. Below, near the entrance, is a long covered passage, where Christophe and his generals conversed usually during the Sunday parade: no white man durst be seen there, which is a proof of the erroneous tales in the newspapers, that Christophe was in the habit of giving sweetmeats to the children of the whites in that spot. Having had an opportunity of visiting the interior after the revolution, I found all the apartments tastefully ornamented. Besides fine mahogany furniture, there were mirrors, portraits, landscapes, &c.”

Christophe, it seems, had no great taste for theatres, and seldom visited either; nor durst any white man venture therein; they were both small.

During his stay in the neighbourhood of the town, M. Ritter was witness to the effects of the yellow fever; two of his fellow-travellers perished by it, and his own life was preserved by the care and attention of his English medical friend, after a sharp attack. He recovered entirely by the use of a *ptisan*, made of tar, lemon-juice, and rum, mixed hot; but drunk, he says, cold, like lemonade: it was a sailor’s recipe, on board the vessel that brought him. The archbishop, not having had the experience of a sea voyage, nor the consequent benefit of M. Ritter’s cold *ptisan*, “ died of the disorder without medical aid”(!)\* for the two English

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\* In Hayti, at the time, his death was by some attributed, less to the causes assigned by M. Ritter, than to the displeasure of the king.

physicians were retained near Sans-Souci, the royal country palace, during the illness of the king.

Other terrible scenes followed, threatening the existence of individuals: the tyranny of Christophe creating great discontents, a rebellion broke out in the west part of the province, which extended to the capital, and cost that ruler his life. Christophe's education had been greatly neglected: he was unable to write, but dictated his private letters to Count Limonade, as his secretary, and signed them himself in a character utterly illegible. M. Ritter affirms this from a letter in his possession, which he gives, and which does not seem to predicate much in favour of the noble secretary's own style of writing French; but as the contents are merely about administering a medicine, we need not quote them here. It is signed "C. Henry." The wife of Christophe was better educated, and of a mild temper, as were his two daughters also, who were carefully instructed, and taught music and singing. Victor Henri, the son, was the third child, and, though scarcely seventeen, nearly as tall and stout as his father; we may ourselves add, with a more pleasing expression of face, though not so intellectual. He was surrounded by Englishmen, and a proficient in our language, but Christophe's policy in this was to eradicate every tendency towards the French and France.

We have given some space to Christophe, as being, like Napoleon himself, the first and last of his dynasty in our own day: and both (*parvis componere magna*) appear to have been overthrown by carrying too far the predominant feeling of their proper subjects, till the latter themselves complained of the excess. Like Napoleon too, the Haytian possessed an army, but could not succeed in forming a naval force. But we must complete our picture of Hayti by a few notices of the domestic manners and culture of the inhabitants:

"Though the common people retain much of their former manners, and a large portion of rudeness, amongst the higher classes predominates the pleasing sociability of the French. I have known cultivated negroes who united an easy and dignified deportment with extreme elegance in conversation and company; and from their fertility of imagination, they not only generally possess fluency of speech, and a certain talent of improvisation, but there are among them orators who might easily be conceived to have studied in more than one school. Yet intellectual life is but in its origin amongst them."

We know not what the opponents of the blacks will say to this. The next extract refers to habits and manners more especially:

"Under Christophe, there was a levee every summer evening: and

during the carnival a court ball was given. The usual amusement of the men was riding ; that of the women, sitting before their doors under a screen, or in their covered balconies. Sometimes the notes of a guitar, or of a female voice, struck the ear. Promenading commenced only after the death of Christophe. In his time no natives were seen in the coffee-houses, but these were filled when Boyer, with his army, entered the town. Under the former, also, a certain cold etiquette and distance was preserved by the black nobility, who kept themselves aloof from the rest of the people. The whites, however, then as now, stood in high consideration, regulated by the amount of their property. The black nobility had no idea of furnishing their apartments handsomely : a good proof of this was in the ornamental furniture I had taken out on speculation : the beautiful glass-ware, ornamental clocks, and gilt coffee-cups, pleased those gentry very well, but they did not think they would suit their moderately furnished apartments. Their beds are almost the only elegant furniture to be found amongst them. English or East India stuffs often form the drapery. The mosquitaire (or fly-nets) are frequently of the finest and most transparent texture.

“ Expense is a characteristic rather of the whites than of the natives. At the table of a black man of rank the wine is frequently bad ; and often there is none but cassava (black) bread to be had. There is also no regular arrangement or display at meal-times. At particular festivals, however, the table is as richly laid out as with many Europeans, and on these occasions bouquets and similar elegancies are not wanting.

“ Carriages were at that time used only on extraordinary occasions ; thus a minister was often seen going to court on foot, in shoes and silk stockings, and at best a dirty negro trotted behind him. Rich ladies make their maid-servants carry stools to and from church for their use ; the common people, during divine service, sit on the floor. .

“ Luxury of dress is carried to the utmost height ; the linen of both men and women is of the finest quality, and worked with rich embroidery, of which they are so fond, that every thing is made with it. The men, in Christophe’s time, wore uniforms, while none of the military were decked out. Even the young Haytians, of from eighteen to twenty, and just come from school, dressed in the blue uniform ; nor was this taste changed till Boyer became president.

“ The women and damsels are fond of show and appearance : their head-dresses are of rich and elegantly formed material : their clothing of the costliest English stuffs. On festivals they are dressed entirely in silks, of showy colours ; their fingers covered with rings ; the neck and ears decked with gold trinkets. Their shoes are of the finest coloured leather, they wear small gold spangles, as was once usual amongst ourselves. They frequently go barefoot, or with shoes trodden down at heel. The higher classes are very cleanly, and during the heats change their linen three times a day. Ladies going to the promenade wear on their heads a broad white or black felt hat, with a couple of tassels hanging down to the shoulders : their pace is slow and measured ; they hold up their train with one hand, and carry a parasol in the other.

In riding on journeys, they sit like men on horseback. Many of the women, and occasionally amongst the coloured, are musical; the guitar is their favourite instrument, which they frequently accompany with a pleasing voice; their songs are French."

One of these we must insert as a specimen of the taste of the Haytian fair:

“ C'est trop long temp(s) souffrir, chere amie,  
 C'est trop long temp souffrir, chere amie,  
 C'est trop long temp souffrir  
 Pour mes premieres amours.  
 Adieu, chere amie, pour toujours,  
 Adieu, chere amie, pour toujours,  
 Adieu, ma chere amie,  
 L'objet de mes amours.”

“ The Haytian black never works till compelled by hunger or force, and, the instant he can cease from labour, he throws himself under the shadiest tree near him, lights his cigar, and delivers himself up to total idleness. It is not unusual to see two negroes sitting on one horse, and a third holding by the tail, to lessen his own proper exertion.”

“ The common negroes, in truth, like the inhabitants of all warm climates, have but few wants, and are easily satisfied. A morsel of cassava bread and salt fish, a draught of water with a little rum in it, and an orange or other fruit, is enough to content him, and after this simple repast he sings himself to sleep. The beds of the better classes are often the only good or elegant furniture in their houses, and the bedsteads frequently are of mahogany. In other cases mats supply the place of beds.”

“ Amongst the poorer sort, a single iron pot forms the whole of the cooking apparatus of their huts, and suffices to dress the banana, salt fish, &c. In fine weather, of course, they prefer the open air; in foul, they kindle a fire between two stones in the hut. The household work is performed, as amongst savages, by the women; the husband, if not a soldier or a labourer for the government, employs himself in the chase. The common negro never goes out without a short sword (machette) at his side, serviceable either for self-defence, to use against animals, or to make his way through the brush-wood.”

“ The women often carry their children with them when going to market. In these cases, they place one leg on the back of their steed, horse or ass, so as to form a lap for the infant: a basket, filled with their wares, hangs on each side of the animal—the child in front, a couple of dozen hens, tied together by the legs, behind, and a pipe in their mouths, they vie with the men in full gallop. They who trudge on foot carry the basket on their heads, and wade through the rivers that cross their course,

there being but few bridges in Hayti. Schools and churches are found only in the towns. •

• Both sexes are careful, according to our author, to cleanse their teeth daily; with the *jatropha gossipifolia*, which they purchase wholesale at market for this purpose, or sometimes with the wood of the orange-tree; chewing a morsel of this till the end is as soft as a brush or hair pencil.

• Singing and dancing are the usual amusements of the lower classes. They display much agility in the latter, and a note of music sets them in motion at once. Their favourite dance is the African national dance Bambouche, which may be shortly described. •

. The performers stand round a circle in pairs, with their eyes fixed on each other. So soon as the music begins, they place their two hands under their (partners') arms, and with innumerable grimaces and caresses, go round the circle, using nearly the regular Scotch step. At times they take hands, using a swinging motion, and dauncing further apart. Their orchestra consists of a cask, the bottom supplied by a calf-skin: it is placed on a stool, and two heavy sticks produce a sound enough to deafen a European. Others shake a kind of hollow rattle, filled with small stones, by way of accompaniment to the harmony; and, to crown the whole, comes the song or rather hideous howling, raised by both men and women. In superior assemblies, drums and fifes form the orchestra..

• We give the words of one of their melodies, premising that *Amelino* is the female name most in favour with the composers from time immemorial.

“ *Amelino, ou pas oublier, titot n'en laisser,  
Titot n'en laisser, titot n'en laisser ?* ”

There is, undoubtedly, as M. Ritter remarks, little meaning in this ditty, but the “ Canadian boat-songs ” we remember to have heard in the original, are scarcely more intellectual.

The Haytians are Roman Catholics, and in general bigoted; the burial ceremonies of the better class resemble those of Europe, but the vulgar preserve their African customs, convoking their friends and neighbours so soon as the sufferer expires, and keeping an incessant chant or wail over the body till it is interred, which is generally in from six to eight hours. Their marriages are contracted without any ceremonial whatever, according to our author.

• The distinguishing trait in the character of this people is the hatred felt by every class towards others. Thus the black detests the coloured race, and these reciprocate the feeling towards the

blacks, but the Mestizoes, who more nearly resemble the whites in their complexion, are most abhorred of all..

The Haytian negro is lively and imaginative; willingly bearing the severest trials when interest or ambition prompt him, and showing great aptitude for knowledge, and for the liberal as well as the mechanical arts. . Their conversation is helped out by gesticulation and grimace to an inconceivable degree. The negroes address each other as father, mother, brother, and sister; they even address the whites, especially in the country, by the title of god-father, or gossip' (gevatter); or, if to show particular respect, as Bourgeois, or even Monsieur Blanc.

"The French," says our author, " are hated excessively in Hayti, but less in the South Province than elsewhere." Boyer, however, gave encouragement and protection to the traders of that nation at Port au Prince, which was not the case under Christophe. If treated kindly, M. Ritter observes, the negro makes in general a good servant. He gives an anecdote, by way, we presume, of illustration, though we cannot feel its force in this sense. Happening to break a small twig from a tree that grew near a strange negro's hut, the sable proprietor rushed forward in fury, exclaiming, "White, if thou dost not leave my house I will kill thee!" But M. Ritter's servant Thomas, a black, interposed, saying, " How now, comrade, who will buy our coffee, or bring us linen, if we kill the whites? Do not you know what our General says:—Negro, kill no white, for we use them for our trade."

To this novel illustration of humanity, or perhaps of Political Economy, we must add one of purity of language.

" The Haytians speak in general the Creolian, a bad French, but the cultivated classes speak good French."\* This paragraph is immediately preceded and followed by similar specimens. We take the former.

" A lady of rank calls to her maid in a drawling tone:—Nini! Nini! Arrive, me tourner la tête, il faut me cracher."

We must now present our readers with a short historical and geographical sketch drawn up by M. Ritter, but which we have somewhat condensed, of the island and the revolutions of Hayti since its first discovery down to the year 1820—the period of our author's visit.

Columbus, on the 6th December, 1492, landed at Hayti, the original name of the island of St. Domingo, and signifying in the Carib tongue, mountain-land.

He found the inhabitants a kind and hospitable race, derived, as their habits and appearance testified, from the ancient Indian

stock: of an elegant, slender form, and possessing great agility. Their complexion was copper-coloured, their hair deep black, long, straight, and flowing upon the shoulders. The head was unusually flat, from their habit of compressing the forehead in infancy. They lived in a beautiful country, upon maize, potatoes, bananas, and other vegetable productions. Their dexterity in furnishing themselves with the common articles of life was great, and their canoes were constructed of the trunks of trees, hewn with flint hatchets. The form of government was an hereditary monarchy, and the island was divided into five independent kingdoms. The monarchs were called *caziques*.

The first kingdom was founded in the eastern part of the island, and watered by streams in whose sands gold was found—it was called *Magua*. The second, named *Marien*, occupied the northern part, from Cape *Nicolas* to the river *Monte-Christ*. The third, *Maguana*, included the western portion of *Cibao* to the *Artibonita*. *Xaragua*, the fourth and richest portion, comprehended the larger part of the south; and the remainder, from the *D'Yacua* to the *Ozama*, formed the fifth state, *Hygney*. They were constantly at war, and fought with darts: their superstition was gross; and their idols included forms of animals.

The oppression of the Spaniards speedily thinned the number of these unbelievers, and the island was recruited with negroes by the care of the Bishop *Las Casas* in 1517; but, the discontent continuing, a part of the natives rebelled, and one of them, named *Henri*, assumed in the interior the title of *Cazique of Hayti*.

For about forty years the Spaniards retained peaceable possession, till the French and English adventurers from St. Christopher, settling in the north, under the name of *Flibustiers*, or *Freebooters*, soon from fishing and hunting turned to ravage the Spanish plantations. Fresh supplies of adventurers arriving, they seized the small island of *La Tortue* for the sake of its harbour, lived by piracy, and incessantly annoyed the Spaniards, who strove repeatedly, but in vain, to capture the stronghold of their adversaries. At length the French in 1665, under the conduct of *Bertrand D'Ogeron*, formed a permanent settlement in the island of *Hayti*. Hostilities continued between the two parties till, at the accession of *Philip V.* to the throne of Spain, this (French) portion was formally given up to the new settlers. *Count Choiseul Beaupré*, in 1707, found the *Flibustiers* in possession of a flourishing trade with foreign vessels, but this governor dying on his passage to France, they gave up their mode of life from want of encouragement, and became planters and labourers.

The colony improved constantly; the free natives vied with the

whites in intellectual cultivation; the black soldiery was no way inferior to the white, and several regiments were commanded by native officers. This was the state of the country till the revolution of 1789.

The natural diffusion of the novel principles introduced by this event produced a strong effect at Hayti. Pride, selfishness and vanity, says Vastey in his work, reigned equally over whites and blacks; the rich planters despised the small, or *petits blancs*, these the coloured race and the free negroes, who in their turn domineered over the slaves. By the white and coloured races the blacks suffered severely; and the two parties of royalists and republicans sought to bring them over to their respective sides. Generals Fr. Brässae, Candi, &c. declared for the king; Toussaint L'ouverture, Villatte, Levaillé, for the republic. "We shed our blood," observes Vastey, "without knowing why, and even without a suspicion that we were but the instruments of our own destruction. We were far from imagining that the Whites, equally though in different ways, sought the same object of dividing, and thus enslaving us." Toussaint, as commander-in-chief of the colony, was victorious in the name of the republic, and slavery existed no longer.

In 1797 General Hedouville was sent to St. Domingo. Toussaint was satisfied that the colony should remain under French dominion, provided slavery was abolished. Hedouville on his return appointed Richard, a mulatto general, commander of the southern province under Toussaint, but the whites joined to reclaim the original system; they leagued against Toussaint, exclaiming, "Without slaves the colony is only a name."—"We are French subjects," the blacks replied.—"France has given us freedom—France cannot seek to fetter us again after having broken our chains."

In 1801 Toussaint L'ouverture took possession of the Spanish portion of the island, which, since the treaty of July, 1795, had properly become French, though circumstances impeded the actual transfer till then. Toussaint made a fearful inroad into the city of San Domingo, and planted the tri-coloured flag in the name of the French republic in place of that of Spain. Don Garcia gave up the keys of the town and quitted the place. Toussaint was ruler at San Domingo, obeyed alike by whites and blacks, and with an army of 40,000 men. Slavery could no longer exist. The French accordingly fitted out a fleet, and an army of 30,000 picked men under general-in-chief Le Clerc, who sailed for the island to restore it to its original state.

In February, 1801, Toussaint was still in the Spanish portion of the island, and Christophe was commanding at Cape Town

when the fleet arrived. He refused it entrance, under a pretext of having no permission from Toussaint Louverture; the fleet entered the harbour nevertheless, and Christophe, in spite of the solicitations of the citizens, set fire to the town. By eleven at night the place resembled a sea of fire, which destroyed every thing but the walls of the cathedral church and of the government-house. Christophe with his army retired to the mountains, and the French landed amongst heaps of ruins.

The whole of the southern province, under Richard, submitted at once, and even Toussaint's own brother, Paul Louverture, who commanded at St. Domingo, yielded with his troops to their authority. Christophe, Dessalines, and some others, however, remained true to their cause, and fled to the mountains for refuge; but at length both parties, wearied with hostilities, came to terms, and Toussaint with his generals came over and surrendered to General Le Clerc according to the stipulations of the treaty.

Subsequently, however, the unfortunate leader was accused of corresponding with the English, who long held possession of St. Nicolas; he was shipped with his family for France, where he—it is not known at Hayti how—perished.

The sufferings of Madame Toussaint are described in an Haytian newspaper in 1808. She was at length set free, after displaying considerable spirit and firmness, and lived in Paris till she returned to the new world, having preserved amidst all her privations a diamond ring of considerable value.

Slavery was again proclaimed at St. Domingo, but the blacks flew to arms with Dessalines at their head, and Petion and Christophe joined him in 1803, with several others. Thus was renewed a severe and bloody struggle, ending in the complete expulsion of the French from this part of the island; and the death of Le Clerc, on the 28th November of the same year, greatly contributed to the event. The numerous army of France, greatly reduced by casualties, fled to St. Domingo; and, on the 1st of January, 1804, the negroes solemnly proclaimed the independence of the island of Hayti, and erected a free state, with Dessalines, as the oldest general, at its head. Notwithstanding the general massacre of their antagonists, the blacks had had the foresight to preserve some of those of the most necessary professions, as the clergy, schoolmasters, compositors, printers, &c. during the scenes of devastation, by throwing them into prison. The greater part of these purchased their lives now by taking the oath of allegiance to the government, and swearing to resign their native land. Of proclamations, therefore, there was no want, either as to number or ability.

On the 8th October, 1804, Dessalines assumed the title of the

Emperor Jacob I. An expedition was undertaken against the remnant of the French army at St. Domingo, who were an obstacle to his complete recognition. Details drawn up at the command of the new emperor are in our possession, and from these it appears, that after a two month's siege the campaign terminated by his retreat; the Spanish portion of the island held his talents cheap in consequence of this failure.

In this expedition Dessalines put to death a number of whites suspected as spies. He was induced however to issue orders for stopping the execution of some, and the oath of allegiance was taken to the constitution, which was read at the Place d'Armes in presence of the military and civil powers, and a vast crowd of all classes, with due solemnity. The speech of Dessalines is curious, as the first specimen of imperial negro oratory at Hayti.

"Haytians! the political events that have laid waste the country seem at an end. After the universal storm a moment of stillness has arrived, and you have resolved that the repose of the warrior shall be confirmed by the influence of the legislator. At this moment, when your eye rests on a constitution that secures your rights, you enter into the rank of civilized nations."

The ceremonials ended with a grand entertainment, at which some healths were drunk; but, notwithstanding all his professions, Dessalines retained his hatred to the whites and coloured race; many of the former especially were afterwards sacrificed to his revenge. The kingdom fell into an unsettled state, as the Haytian writers delicately term it. The conduct of the tyrant daily increased the anger of his subjects, and produced his overthrow.

Baron Vastey, the native historian, gives the following particulars of this event:—

"The combination against Dessalines consisted of the minister of war Gerin, the general-commandant Petion, with Vavon and other mulatto generals. On the night of the 16th October, 1806, Dessalines rode with about twenty men for an escort through Blackfeld to Port-au-Prince. When he was some hundred paces from the red-bridge near Port-au-Prince, he perceived troops drawn up in military array on both sides of the road—suspecting no evil, he rode on.

"As he came up to the soldiers, he heard the cry of Halt, halt! from a thousand voices. Still feeling no apprehension, he rode between the two lines of levelled musquets, exclaiming, 'Soldiers, do not you know me?' The troops from awe and alarm were unwilling to offer violence; one only of the most daring fired at him, but Dessalines killed him at once with a pistol-shot. At this moment Gerin, Vavon and others, who had concealed themselves behind the bushes, gave the word 'Fire! A volley followed, which stretched both Dessalines and his horse dead on the spot. Thus fell Dessalines amidst his black brethren in arms, after one year, ten months, and twenty-six days of usurped dominion."

Dessalines, though married and having children, lived in open polygamy. His mistresses, of whom there were about twenty, cost the state not less than 20,000 piastres yearly.

Opinions were greatly divided as to the choice of a successor. Baron Vastey affirms that Christophe assumed the government by general invitation; but as he is notoriously partial to the latter, it may be doubted whether the South Province, numbering so many mulattoes, might not have preferred one of these to a black. No one, however, could impugn Christophe's right as the oldest general—he published an address from Port-au-Prince on the 21st October, 1806, signed by Gerin, Petion, Vavon, Baval, &c., but remained inactive, and contented himself with sending his deputies to the meeting at Port-au-Prince. The day of convocation came; the assembly should have consisted of only 60 members, but as they amounted to 78, (the South Province summoning 18 more than the North), the deputies separated without doing any thing. On the 27th December following, Petion was chosen president of the Republic of Hayti.

Christophe refused to acknowledge this proceeding, and marched with all his forces to Port-au-Prince. Near Eibert on the 15th January he met the army of Petion on the march. A fierce encounter ensued, and Christophe was compelled to retreat, though Vastey asserts that this arose from his reluctance to shed blood. A complete separation of the two states followed: Petion, in imitation of North America, founding a pure republic, whilst Christophe instituted a monarchy. The latter summoned a deliberative assembly at the Cape from amongst the oldest general officers, and the constitution of the 17th February, 1807, was formally settled.

Christophe, appointed president and generalissimo of the land and sea forces for life, occupied himself peaceably in attending to the cares of the government: in the South Province, however, disturbances prevailed, and one Baptist Duperier Goman, taking refuge in the mountains, set both governments at defiance, and Petion carried on a long war against him.

In 1810, Richard, returning from France with proposals for a treaty, was made a general of division by Petion, and soon after seized a portion of the province—several leaders, amongst them Gerin and Vavon, were slain, but the death of Richard from fever relieved Petion of this rival. Meantime Christophe was anxious to extend his authority over the South and West Provinces, but failing, he nevertheless, in 1811, assumed the title of King of Hayti, and was, with his wife, crowned by the Archbishop Gonzalez, whom he himself, and not the pope, had appointed. He appeared on this solemn occasion, according to

his partial biographer, as calm and frank as usual, and took the oath to maintain the integrity of Hayti, and abolish slavery, and all that was hostile to military and civil rights; to uphold the ordinance of apanage, and the rights of property; and ever to advance the honour and welfare of the great Haytian family.

The members of the royal family were to be addressed as royal highnesses, and the court was placed on a European footing. Tranquillity was not disturbed till 1813, when dissensions were renewed between the two states. The blame is thrown by the partizans of each upon their adversaries. Christophe marching with his whole force against Port-au-Prince, took Eibert by storm. The two armies speedily came to a fierce encounter, Boyer, since president, commanding the republicans. He would have been driven back, but for the timely junction of Richard's successor, Bargella, with Petion himself. Christophe, called away by some tumults, had scarcely quitted his army, when a whole division went over to the enemy. Weakened by this desertion and the insurrections at home, after a campaign of 75 days he returned to his province.

Had Petion commenced invader in his turn, a fearful scene of bloodshed must have followed. He was contented, however, with following his antagonist to his own borders. The war ceased here. Christophe rewarding his faithful followers, and ruling the blacks with great severity in revenge for their recent mutinies.

On the restoration of Louis XVIII. France was desirous of recovering the sovereignty of Hayti. Negotiations were to be opened with both the chiefs, and Dauxion Lavaysse, Draverman, and Medina, charged with the mission, landed at Jamaica. Montorsier, a French merchant settled at the Cape, going there on business, was instructed by Christophe to ascertain the object of the negociators. He found Lavaysse ill, gained his confidence, and on his return with a letter for the king, would have proceeded to Sans-Souci, to deliver it in person, instead of the usual form of transmission in such cases, through the minister, Baron Dupuy. Christophe gave Montorsier an audience in the capital however, and assuming a friendly tone and manuer, in order to put him off his guard, "What think you," he inquired, "would be my reward, were I willing to return under French dominion?" "Your majesty would be sovereign lord and ruler of the Island of Tortue; or might live at choice, either in France, the United States of America, or any where else; in all cases, H. M. Louis XVIII. would remember and remain your friend." Christophe artfully replied, "I place no value on the throne or crown, and would fain resign them, and all claim to them, durst I flatter myself to pass my days any where

with my family in peace." "That is what is intended," interrupted Montorsier, taking his hand. "It was apprehended, that your majesty might not be so disposed; but now the obstacle is removed." "But," returned Christophe, "what will my ministers, functionaries, and officers say to it? they will oppose it with all their might." "They must be won over to acquiesce," replied Montorsier, calmly.

He had scarcely uttered the words, when Christophe rose up, crying aloud, "Here, officers! you are to be robbed of your "liberty: I am requested to prevail on you to break your oath."

The officers, in attendance, rushed at once into the room at the voice of the king. Montorsier, awakened from his dream, saw the error he had committed; he trembled from head to foot, turned pale, and stood silent and in the greatest confusion. The officers were for throwing him from the balcony into the street; but Christophe said, "No, let him go quietly; enough that his manœuvres are discovered." Montorsier went; but fell a sacrifice soon after to his too ready compliance with the monarch's wishes.

In conformity with this prelude, and on the 21st of October, 1814, a general council being met, Christophe thus addressed them from the throne.

"Haytians, we have assembled you, and convoked a general council of the nation, in order to lay before you the papers transmitted through General Dauxion Lavaysse from the French cabinet. Haytians, determine with prudence and consideration as becomes men.—Decide on points affecting the interests of the nation you represent, as well as your own prospects as those of your fellow citizens."

So soon as the letter from Dauxion Lavaysse had been read by Count Limonade, the assembly unanimously declared themselves ready to perish amongst the ruins of their houses rather than return under the yoke of France: and so strong was this feeling in the nation, that, according to Vastey,

"the moment the proceedings were made public, the whole people hastened to the field. They vowed each to deliver his own cabin to the flames so soon as the French should set foot upon the soil. Some snatched their sabres, some prepared their muskets, others took up the knapsack. The women were equally resolute, and even the children, actuated by the common feeling, bundled their little property and toys together, and pointed with their fingers to the mountains as the last refuge from slavery."

Draverman had proceeded in the mean time to the South Province, Dauxion Lavaysse to Petion at Port-au-Prince, while Medina remained with Christophe. Here at Cape Town he had the mortification to be present while the court sung *Te Deum* in public worship, to hear the substance of his instructions, and the

contents of the letter which he had brought, as well as the answer of the national assembly, proclaimed at the termination of mass to the troops, and beheld himself alone and surrounded by the negro army, the object of their fiercest execrations. He soon after disappeared altogether, and was probably assassinated in the confinement to which, we would state, he was doomed when the seizure of his papers afforded evidence that one of the objects of his mission was to foment disturbances. His two companions returned to France.

We must briefly add, that the French government, no way discouraged by this violence, renewed more than once afterwards its efforts at negociation, both with Petion and Christophe; and after the death of these two chiefs, with the president Boyer.

No sooner was Petion dead (1818) than Christophe issued a proclamation to induce the South Province to accept himself as their ruler—but in vain. Boyer succeeded Petion, and thus matters stood when our author arrived in the island.

Christophe falling ill in 1820, and being confined to his bed for several weeks, the discontent which his severity and tyranny had excited came to a head. A conspiracy was formed under the auspices of the Duke of Marmalade, governor of Cape Town, and the Prince de Limbé, minister of war.

On the 6th October, says our author, a confused rumour arose about midnight of a revolution at St. Marks. No one knew the details: uneasiness and terror reigned during the following day on every face, for all felt that some catastrophe was at hand, and the whites dreaded a general massacre of themselves. They assembled, and decided on embarking at once on board the ships, and slipping anchor and putting to sea during the night. They attempted instantly to put their resolve in execution, but found to their alarm that guards were posted every where along the shore by the governor's orders. The intended fugitives consequently returned in the greatest consternation to their homes, barricaded the doors, and, arming themselves as they best could, awaited their doom.

"About nightfall the alarm increased in the streets; at eleven the trumpets and drums sounded to arms: the clash of weapons, the fearful cries of the negroes; the clattering of cavalry through the streets, and the volumes of fire which arose from Christophe's residence and plantation to the skies, added fresh terrors to their situation. This state of things lasted till morning.

"Early in the morning, a numerous body of negro troops, headed by an officer, drew up before the house in which we were. The officer handed to Mi Hoffman (agent of the Baron von Dietrich), a written order from the governor to give up to their officer what fire-arms, &c. he possessed, and to send also the sum of 1000 Spanish dollars to the governor."

• It seems that the Austrian vessel had a cargo of arms and ammunition on board, and the money was divided amongst the military. •

• "Any remonstrance under the circumstances would have been equally hazardous and unavailing; the will of the governor was law. The amount of this exaction was subsequently balanced in coffee."

• "Christophe learned early in the morning at Sans-Souci the events of the preceding evening. He made every effort, and tried every expedient to put down the insurrection. On hearing that the whites had supplied weapons to the insurgents, he issued orders to the governor that they should be all put to death; but Marmalade, whose connivance in the rebellion was unknown to him, put us in security. Christophe placed his guard, of whom there were about 1000 at Sans-Souci, under arms, and made them take again the oath of fidelity; but as his illness prevented him from taking the command, he appointed the Duke of Fort-Royal instead; the crown-prince and other generals accompanied him."

• "Meantime the rebels were at Haut-du-Cap erecting batteries; the guard advanced against them, but their attack was feeble, and some even cried 'Vive l'indépendance!—vive le Général Richard!' They then placed white handkerchiefs on their bayonets, and went over to their brethren. Their leaders alone returned in great affliction to Sans-Souci to apprise Christophe of the event. His friends and followers now all quitted him, with the exception of the Baron Dupuy. Christophe said to him, 'Save yourself, my time is expired;' and, repairing to his bed, ended his life with a pistol."

• "On the day of his death, his wives, the crown-prince, the two princesses, and the whole family, were brought on horse-back to the Cape Town amidst the shouts of the populace, the ringing of bells, and the thunder of cannon. The females were confined in their rooms, but the males of the party were thrown into prison. On the 9th October Victor Henri, Christophe's son, was found murdered. He wept bitterly when assassinated. The Duke of Fort-Royal cried out to the last, 'Vive Henri Christophe roi d'Hayti.' Duke Laxavon was bayoneted by the soldiers. Baron Vastey, the historian of Hayti, was also murdered \* \* \* His body was thrown into an empty well, where I myself saw it. \* \* \* The corpse of Christophe was interred at Citadelle Henri."

We believe, however, that Prevost, whom M. Ritter omits, remained, like Dupuy, with his unfortunate master to the last, and helped to carry him to his quick-lime grave before the rebellious soldiery could arrive to maltreat the body. Sans-Souci was given up to plunder, and this whole portion of the island became the prey of anarchy and violence. •

• "Everywhere was heard the cry 'Liberté! égalité!' The unfeathered negro plundered to his heart's content under this watchword; these wild swarms cared for no laws, all for them was free and privileged. On the other hand the whites could now travel without passports wherever they pleased, and without any pledges for their security. During this period many ridiculous scenes occurred. Here might be

seen a half-naked negro with a splendid gold-laced hat and feather on his head ; there another, without a shoe on his dirty feet, decked out in the full uniform of an officer of rank, &c."

Such was the state of affairs till the presidency of this part of the island was also assumed by Boyer. The present president is mild and amiable in manners, and rules with gentleness. He is a mulatto, and was formerly secretary to Petion on his return from France. He commanded the army of the South Province in the war between the latter and Christophe, as we have already seen ; he is short and spare, and of simple habits ; greatly beloved by the people, and deservedly so for the excellence of his administration. The nobility under his rule are simply officers on the staff, and have resigned their former titles of princes, dukes, &c. The common people are contented and happy ; relieved of the heavy burdens imposed on them by the tyranny of Christophe and his predecessor, "each lives in his own house, and cultivates his own land ; or else—and this is far more often the case—lets it alone altogether."

Before the French Revolution of 1789, the population of Hayti, according to some, amounted to 570,000, of whom 40,000 were whites, 30,000 free blacks and coloured, and 500,000 slaves. La Croix states the whole present number at 501,000, of which the Republic contained 261,000, and Christophe's portion 240,000 souls (reckoning 1000 whites, 20,000 coloured, and 480,000 blacks) ; but M. Ritter considers these numbers too high ; that Christophe's portion does not comprise more than 160,000, including the military (15,000 men), and that the coloured race are also overrated, they having greatly diminished under negro supremacy. The males of this part he computes at but 30,000, there being from 5 to 6 women in every house. The general population of the island since the Union, as he affirms, by later calculation is found to consist of 700,000 souls ; this is probably correct, as a medium, but we believe there is great reason to doubt the accuracy of every existing statement on the subject, as they differ from 360,000 to 1,000,000, and there seem to be no means of verifying by census. The military force amounts now by the best accounts to somewhere about 30,000 effective troops, bold, hardy, and fairly trained to arms ; the fleet consists, as we learn from the same source, of but a few sloops or schooners, though there are an admiral, a vice-admiral, and captains, lieutenants, &c. in due proportion.

The natural productions of Hayti, and particularly its Flora, are extremely rich ; of the latter M. Ritter goes into details, for which we must refer the reader to the volume itself. The plates are slight, and of little value as works of art ; but they are from

the drawings of a native, and give faithful representations of the scenery.

We may add here a few particulars from other authentic sources than M. Ritter's volume.

The English nation, it appears, is favourably regarded by the Haytians, and indeed looked upon both in the light of a natural ally and a commercial friend; but all European and other nations whatever are prohibited from proprietorship of land there, the 38th article of the Constitution of 1816 expressly excluding *aucun blanc, quelle que soit sa nation*, from putting foot in the Haytian territory *à titre de maître ou de propriétaire.* A native Albino, we presume, would be equally excluded; but it seems that all Haytian citizens are to be called blacks, even though some of them are whites.

We add a whimsical illustration of the working of the Ballot system and Universal Suffrage, from a land where they are to be found flourishing in all their glory. We give it on the authority of the British consul.

Criminals, idiots, and domestics, are the only persons who cannot give a vote, but it appears that there is a mode of nullifying, or rendering nugatory, this privilege where it is possessed. Some emigrants from America, which supplies Hayti with a reasonable proportion of citizens yearly, wished to elect a Methodist preacher as one of the representatives. The elections take place in the church, but his partizans who repaired thither were courteously assisted to traverse the building to the opposite door, for their exit, being entirely relieved of the labour of giving their votes. The government candidate was thus elected.

If any thing, however, could give additional strength to the certainty felt in Europe of the purity of ballot votes, it would be, we presume, the fact, that the first government candidate was elected by a majority so satisfactory as to have *five* more votes than there were voters present; and the phenomenon had the merit of recurrence on a larger scale, the second candidate proposed in the government interest outnumbering his own voters by *twenty* votes.

We are happy, however, to record the progressive improvement of the natives on various points, since the time that M. Ritter visited them, and even since Mr. Mackenzie. The revolting licentiousness of Christophe and Dessalines had corrupted the inferior classes by the open profligacy of the court; the police was indifferent, education was at a low ebb, the post was signally imperfect, the roads and bridges few, and in the worst possible condition, the press idle, and the newspapers latterly abolished. All this has, by degrees, been ameliorated, though

there is far from any approach to perfection at the present day. The free coloured race, too, that had been held by the French absolutely as public property, in spite of their freedom, and in consequence subjected to compulsory service in the militia and militia-police, prevented from bearing the names of their white parents, excluded from the public service and liberal professions, even as apothecaries and schoolmasters, and obliged to pay a tax for repairs of the roads, have now assumed a fair station in society, and led the way to much improvement. The historians of the country have sprung from this class, and history is the basis of national elevation.

The position of Hayti is perfectly novel in political history, but its advancement in civilization may not impossibly be retarded by the result and even progress of the negotiations now pending with France. On these we must bestow a few words, premising, however, that the tranquillity latterly enjoyed by Hayti is still far from having developed to any extent the sources of her domestic prosperity; and that an utter impossibility of meeting the demands of the mother country may, if these are insisted on, as they seem likely to be, produce a crisis in the island. Notwithstanding their terror of commotions so deeply recorded in blood in their short but sanguinary annals, the name of France is far from endeared to the Haytians, and their indignation at the terms of the treaty acknowledging their independence is embittered by the recollection of the troubles incurred in achieving it. It is not a little remarkable that the French and Dutch, the one so courteous and urbane, the other so cautious and phlegmatic at home, should so entirely change their national characteristics in their colonies, and run into extremes of so dark and fatal a tendency.

The expedition now preparing under Admiral Mackau for Hayti, and which is reported to take out MM. Maler and Des Cases, as negotiators for the payment of the French claims of indemnity which they themselves had arranged with the government of 1826, can scarcely be attended with success if it urge the acquaintance to the full amount of so many millions of francs. A very large deduction and a considerable extension of time may enable the Haytians to liquidate a part, but we venture to predict that neither the national resources nor the national feeling will allow the execution of terms so onerous as those proposed by their still hated former masters. Beyond the mischief of coast attacks, the islanders have little to fear; their own obstinate courage, the heat of their climate, and the formidable array of diseases, varying with every month, are the sure safeguards of Hayti from European aggression.

We must here close our notice of this interesting volume, which will probably soon make its appearance in English. Since the authority of Boyer was established over the island, improvement of course has not failed to accompany political emancipation. The black, recovering from his degradation, begins to feel the value of personal independence; cultivation and commerce are making rapid strides, and Hayti promises fairly for civilization; but though the blacks of the other islands may regard its freedom with anticipations of assistance, it must be long before Hayti can pretend to render them any serious aid. At present this is impracticable, and we ourselves know with certainty that the applications secretly made on this head have been entirely discountenanced as hopeless and impossible by the enlightened President.

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ART. V.—*Sanchuniathonis Historiarum Phœniciae libros novem, Græce versos a Philone Byblio, edidit Latinaque versione donavit F. Wagenfeld.* (The Nine Books of Sanchoniatho's History of Phœnicia, translated into Greek by Philo-Byblius; revised and accompanied with a Latin version by F. Wagenfeld.) Bremæ, 1837.

OUR readers will recollect that, in our 37th Number, we noticed, with severest censure, an absurd farrago of ignorant puerilities, put forth by one Frederick Wagenfeld, of Bremen, who was, "like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once," and brought forth his authentic volume without any authentication, save the auspicious omen of a hundred aliases, of name, place, &c. Strongly as such a mode of proceeding might claim our confidence, we were not, at the time, disposed to give it all the credit which the ingenious discoverer of lost histories demanded for his bantling. We even asked, as did the Arab sceptics of Mahommed, a few more miracles to confirm those already offered to us. The sequel proves we were not wholly unreasonable, for, *En, iterum Crispinus!* the complete work of Sanchoniatho is presented to our eyes, and affords, not precisely in truth the line of marvels that we had recommended, but others equally numerous, impossible, and satisfactory. What can a single critic, whose only weapon is his pen, perform against a host, a joint-stock company of Historical Spectres; a partnership of Ghosts and Men, with wands, jugglers, snakes, swords, and other things to be swallowed; of Entities and Non-entities, who, under the firm of Sanchoniatho, Philo-Byblius, Wilde-Wagenfeld, and Company (of how many we know not), commence business as

booksellers of the nineteenth century, in some possibly Preadamite Row, and take out a patent for reviving History herself, after the most approved principles of the Humane Society? With such an array against us, we must yield of course; recant conviction, deny proof, abjure reason, and be satisfied for the rest of our lives to demonstrate falsehood, and feel grateful for those bland obscurations which so agreeably relieve our aching eyes from the inconvenient radiance of truth. Let us hope that the present volume is only the precursor of others similar; that, from their extant fragmants, Berossus, Abydenus, Alexander Polyhistor, Manetho, Lysimachus, Hecatæus, Hanno, and so many other writers whose loss we deplore, may be completed, restored, and referred to their proper classes, by the plastic labours of this German historical Cuvier; and that, together with the lost portions of Polybius, Tacitus, Herodotus, Ammianus, &c. &c., a band of historic sisters may rise, like the resuscitated nuns at the will of Robert the Devil, to dance upon the theatre of antiquity in honour of Mr. Frederick Wagenfeld. Or, if only the irretrievable and most apocryphal of such works demand the care of the publishing committee aforesaid, we may trust to see the supposed originals of the Mosaic narrative, the *possible* book in which Job wished his words to be written, the memoranda from which Isaac is imagined to have written that poem, and the letters(?) which Bellerophon bore from *Prætus* to *Jobates*. If, however, it is Egypto-Phœnician narrative alone that we may expect, the books of Thoth and the *thirty-six thousand* volumes of the Hermesians will satisfy us for the present.

This reported discovery of the original manuscript of Sanchoniatho naturally created great excitement in the literary world; and the interval suffered to elapse between that discovery and the publication of the volume before us has added, what was probably wished, something of interest to the promised novelty, but not exactly in the shape most calculated to ensure success; for though a high name in German scholarship ushered the reputed abridgment of the work before the public, yet doubts were everywhere expressed, and scepticism, as we formerly stated, was rife as to the authenticity of the production. The German papers devoted to literature avowed their disbelief of the story of discovery; those of France treated it with contempt; in England the tale was scarcely noticed, and an Englishman it was who ascertained the fact, that the convent in Portugal reputed to have preserved the volume, had no existence whatever. In addition, as we noticed to our readers, the son of the professor who had aided the publication itself, gave, almost contemporaneously with its appearance, a series of letters and docu-

ments, including the judgment of several eminent German scholars, disproving the pretended circumstances, and discrediting the book with the public. The complete work has now appeared however, and, we are bound to say, in a form, and under circumstances, that carry their own conviction. Our readers shall judge for themselves.

It was certainly incumbent on M. Wagenfeld, who, during the years 1895 and 1896, figured in as many *habitats* as a Persian in his non-age, and under as many names as a Japanese in the process of maturity, to make some reply to the impugners of his former statements: to show that Germany was not Portugal, nor Bremen the Convent of Santa Maria Merinhaõ; nor his native post-office a foreign messenger; nor a modern water-marked paper an ancient roll, (like that of Ezekiel, somewhat bitter of digestion;) nor *Quirl and Son* of Osnaburgh still living paper-manufacturers, but extant in the sixth century; nor his own self-contradictions mutual corroborations; nor he himself, instead of a tangible man, a kind of quintiform essence, resolving, as occasion required it, into Sauchoniatho; Philo-Byblius: Joannes Perreiro, Eques; F. Wilde; and Frederick Wagenfeld. It is possible, however, that this multifarious unity suspected the world might arrive at such a conclusion without his assistance. Assuredly he has given none, for thus runs the preface of F. Wagenfeld, of Bremen:—

“ Last year, when I edited some extracts from the Commentaries on Phœnician History, written by Sanchoniatho in his native tongue, and rendered by Philo into Greek, some learned men, after proving the authenticity of the original, announced, both in private and public, that the text was the ancient writer's, true and authentic.”

We confess we read the German opinions that were published very opposite to this; but of course a native's interpretation should be more accurate than ours. He then proceeds to state that the professor we have alluded to, (and whose name, since his son has made the due *amende* to the public, we need not reprint, though our hero makes no delicacy of it,) greatly assisted him in explaining the more unintelligible, and substantiating the incredible, portions,—no trifling task, we opine, as the matter stands, and deserving not less grateful mention than certain other assistance from the same quarter, which M. Wagenfeld has omitted altogether to refer to. From the celebrity and talents of his coadjutor, M. Wagenfeld conceives the facts arrayed against himself to be of no consequence; and sagely, therefore, dispenses with the labour of refuting them, “ lest he might seem to waste his oil and his ink!” (ne oleum et operam perdidisse videar;) a conclusion with which we cordially agree.

We are gratified, however, to find that the shade of the departed historian is not insensible to the remonstrances of friendly criticism. With a knowledge of German and English, extremely praiseworthy in a Phœnician defunct so many centuries before either language existed, Sanchoniatho has remodelled his veracious narrative, in deference to modern remarks, since the publication of M. Wagenfeld's abridgment. Thus, we are personally flattered, by seeing that the Song of the Royal Scribe of Zidon, to which we ourselves took the freedom of objecting (No. xxxvii. p. 188), as misplaced in the mouth of a native, was (*subsequently*) uttered by a hostile warrior, whose swan-like energies were called forth by death, though the exact tune to which the words were sung, and the proper accompaniment, are unfortunately both wanting. We have, of course, no means of ascertaining the mode of notation in those days, nor the style of the ancient Phœnician Melodies, unless, with Sir W. Betham, we conclude them to be Irish. If so, Moore, Stevenson, and Bunting, will be doubly welcome to us henceforth. We fain would suggest, however, that some of the characters on the Babylonian seals, and which Mr. William Price, in his Persepolitan researches, so luminously discovered to be a musical alphabet of the Pehlivi(!) would furnish the desideratum in question; and that thus the "Book of the Songs of Zidon" might be now published with advantage, arranged, and with variations, for the piano-forte: such a work could scarcely fail of becoming popular.

The posthumous knowledge which the foregoing correction evinces is admirably illustrated by a passage at the close of the first book, p. 18, which we have subjoined, and in which Sanchoniatho (in a strain of singularly German philosophizing), discusses the Cyclic poets and literature of the Greeks. We are not quite certain, however, that the merit of this foresight properly belongs to Sanchoniatho; since, as he abridged his history from the books of Thoth, the passage in question may be taken from the latter: and hence we cannot positively decide whether it was Egyptian or Phœnician ears that were familiarized thus *early*, in every sense, with Grecian mythology and fables, a few centuries before Exodus and the Cadmean importation of letters.

If so much courtesy was shown to our objection above cited by the original historian, we are equally bound in gratitude to notice that his Greek translator has followed the example. In the German Abridgment, it is true, the proper names are given, as we noticed, in the Hebræo-Chaldaic character, but Philo-Byblius himself has politely expunged them subsequently from the *second* original MS., in which they are nowhere to be found!

That M. Wagenfeld ever got them at all, therefore, is to us a matter of unfeigned admiration.

This gentleman, however, has left a variety of other equally interesting and important points unexplained. We hear from him nothing of the discovery, nothing of the convert, nothing of its name, of the MS., the fac-simile, nor even of the doubts and circumstances that have attended the whole process. Practised liars, we know, always avoid the lie circumstantial, as the most difficult to support; but this can never refer to Mr. Frederick Wagenfeld. Nor are we furnished, as before, with the Zidonian army and navy list, the double list of sovereigns, after the fashion of the Saxe-Gotha almanack, nor the geographical memoranda. Possibly these will be published separately, with Statistical Tables, and, for ought we know, a Trigonometrical Survey from the same hand. For all this, and for the country of the shepherds, we can afford to wait; but we must confess our solicitude to know how it happens that the German condensation is occasionally longer than the *entire* passage; or why the *Inhalt*, *i. e.* contents, is so often verbatim with the complete narrative. We are anxious too to learn why the German abridgment, the Latin translation, and the Greek text, each severally contain passages nowhere to be met with in the two others. Compare pp. 32, 39, 45, 167, 186, and also 82 of the German, with 158-9 of the original, and these varieties are common throughout the work. But the most astounding fact of all these marvels is, that the German abridgment is actually longer than the entire work, in the proportion of 107 to 101, (for we have had the curiosity to count;) and this, not merely from the greater compression of the Latin and Greek, but from containing more incidents than either of the originals from which it is derived.

But our readers may wish to see some extracts from the volume, and judge for themselves of the light it is calculated to throw on doubtful points of antiquity:—"Sydyc also had children, the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or lastly, Samothraces"—the eternal *seu* of the Latin, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the original, being equally elucidatory of whether these various denominations were synonymous, as implied above, or only partially so, as is more probably conjectured.

Referring to the "Saturnia Regna," Sanchoniatho, the Phœnician, thus, and before the Trojan war, philosophizes on history in lofty disdain of anachronisms:—

"But the Greeks, beyond all nations the most polished and mentally refined, at first, in truth, assumed several of these correct (details) as their own; till, wishing to charm ears and intellects by the graces of fable, they subsequently exaggerated them beyond measure, by novel and

multifarious additions, and an accession of ornaments. Hence Hesiod, and the cyclic poets,\* turning every thing into fable, claimed for Greece the wars, &c. of Giants and Titans, overwhelming the truth itself everywhere by their boastings. Our ears, accustomed from infancy to their fictions, and pre-occupied by notions existing through many centuries, once imbued with the falsehood, retain, as I have already said, what from that time gathers strength and fortifies itself in the mind; so that to expel it becomes extremely difficult, and fact itself of no avail, while spurious and fabricated narratives obtain its place and estimation."

We are favoured with a collateral proof, we presume, of the biblical narrative respecting the cities of the Plain, as follows:—

"Amorius staid in the kingdom of Sidimus, who built the city of Sidami in a fertile spot. This city was surrounded by many springs producing asphaltum. This he collected, and sold to merchants going to Egypt; and thus Amorius obtained ample wealth."

But there was a great war in Egypt, and, Taaut remaining victorious, many of the inhabitants fled. The first troop of these fugitives, meeting those who were bringing asphaltum to Egypt, employed them as guides, and came thus to the territory of Sidimi. Amorius bestowed on them some sterile land, which they rendered fertile, by digging a canal; but having, it seems, built a temple to their gods, two images of bulls, and refusing to exchange these for the deities of the country, he destroyed the men, and carried off the women, children, and riches to Sidimi, whereupon,

"Sidimus, beholding this wealth, seized it by force; drove Amorius, who took the proceeding amiss, from the city, and collected the asphaltum himself. Amorius, retaining the bulls, fled to Chittium, but being near perishing with hunger by the way, invoked the Deity to punish Sidimus. He answered, he should be punished through the medium of his own sin, and immediately cast fire on the asphaltum; thus all that inhabited the place were destroyed—Sidimus, his children, city, and cattle, so that not one escaped, and the plain of Sidim was submerged. In its place stood a lake, ever clouded with vapours; without fish, and unnavigated by vessels; the shores uninhabitable from their sterility; fords everywhere which passengers could traverse without wetting their feet, and which were pointed out by great columns erected on the banks."

We must insert a specimen of the poetic; namely, a lamentation, which we presume the Phœnician historian either himself indited, or else copied from the Book of Songs, whatever that might be, for his history; or, possibly, took down stenographically from the speaker's own lips:—

\* The original is—*ἴθιν Ησίδος οἱ τε πυκλικοὶ περιπημάίοις Θεογοίας καὶ Γηγετομαχίας ιδίας καὶ ἱετομάς, οἵτις συμπεριφερόμενοι ἐξεκινοῦν τὴν αλέθειαν.*

" The wood rings with the voice of him who bewails the fate of his brother. The heights of the mountains bear the wailing, and the rocks re-echo it. Brother, arise, this is not the time for slumber; let us go, that we may comfort our mother. But he neither hears me calling, nor beholds my tears. A youth came to me, saying, ' Thy brother has been devoured by wild beasts on the mountaius; but, hastening hither, I find on thy face a wound inflicted by a sword; and well I know him who slew thee. It is thou, Caranus, that hast killed him with the sword; but me shalt thou find armed.' "

There is another of these lachrymatory effusions, where we find the Latin supplying an additional sentence to the Greek, and presume that Philo left the original passage for M. Wagenfeld to render, or that the latter possesses also Sanchoniatho's own MS., by which to correct the Greek version of the translator; for of course no one can, after the preface, imagine these variorum readings to be the lucubrations of the German discoverer himself. But we must pass over this, to notice an incident where we frankly confess ourselves unable to determine whether the interest of the narrative, the sagacity of the parties, the novelty of the occurrence, or its importance to history, be most admirable. The Armenian mountains were inhabited by prophets, or sages, of no ordinary talent, as the event will show.

Barcas had married the beautiful virgin Nebrana, who indulged, it seems, the beautiful and virgin propensity of being drunk every day (*ἀντὶ πάσαν ημέραν ἡπτω γεγομένη τοῦ οἴνου*): but, falling sick, the happy husband, unable to procure a physician, sent to the sages in question to learn what remedy was to be employed in the case of this novel and unheard-of disorder. They answered, that wine was a most salutary liquor, and easy of digestion; and that a man, coming home and finding his wife intoxicated, might easily restore her to health by beating her with any stick. But by the time the scribe had returned to the king, Nebrana had already anticipated the simple remedy of the sages, by dying, "drunk beyond measure."

With such details of trifles, it cannot be imagined that historical points should occupy much attention with the historian. We find that the art of swallowing the sword was known in that day at Babylon, though omitted by Voltaire in his "authentic history" of its Princess and Court: but we do not find the problem of the Shepherd Kings solved by this concise and authentic relation.

We would suggest in passing, that ancient history usually narrated the acts of the great and of nations, not little anecdotes of tea-table scandal in private life, nor details of the feats of jugglers and mountebanks. The story of the *bull*, at pp. 32, 33, wants

nothing but the *cock* to establish it in our estimation ; and the passage respecting Cadytis (in the German) bears a marvellous verbal coincidence with the passage at p. 97 of the German translation of Rask on the Egyptian Chronology ; the more remarkable, as it must have been written some thousand years previous to the latter work.

We formerly referred to the Greek, we now must notice M. Wagenfeld's Latin style, which assuredly is not such as to raise his reputation for scholarship anywhere out of Phœnicia at the present day ; see pp. 69, 77, and 125, for specimens, and particularly the passage beginning " *Mortuo enim Taauto iisque,*" &c. The verisimilitude of the following is remarkable.

" After the death of Taaut and his descendants, the Egyptian kings, waging war against the shepherds dwelling near the sea, were conquered. Many perished in the contest. Those who fled, shut themselves up in a large city, where they were besieged by the shepherds, and suffered extreme misery, so that numbers died of hunger. But when they were reduced to the utmost extremity and want of every thing, a certain priest invented scythed-chariots, and laid the invention before the king. The king, causing 100 to be built, quickly conquered the enemy, and recovered the whole country possessed formerly by Taaut, driving out ALL the shepherds. He could not, however, take the impregnable fortress on the sea-shore. Thus the Egyptians, first of all nations, employed scythed-chariots.

" The conquered shepherds quitted Egypt, and many turned to Arabia, where were large uninhabited tracts. . . . . Many went to the mountains, &c. to the giants. . . . . Many built themselves cities, infested the mountains, and, procuring horses and chariots, spread fear amongst their neighbours. The Indauri and Asibuni derive their origin from them. All these things are described in the book of Taaut."

This is a very convenient reference. The eager inquiries making into Egyptian antiquities may one day solve a question beyond the power of M. Wagenfeld to set at rest. The book of Taaut, we nevertheless suspect, would hardly contain the history of those who lived after his death, and who were neither his contemporaries, descendants, nor countrymen ; nor was Taaut necessarily gifted, we presume, like his compatriot Sanchoniatho, with the faculty of writing volumes some centuries after his own decease, to supply the *lacunæ* of subsequent historians through the medium of M. Wagenfeld of Bremen.



**ART. VI.—Curiosités Historiques de la Musique, complément nécessaire de la Musique mise à la portée de tout le Monde.**  
Par M. Fetis. 2 tomes. Paris.

As there is so much that is really amusing and interesting in the records of past days in remote countries, and as the zeal exhibited by many experienced writers in bringing to light hidden treasures on subjects connected with art and literature so exactly corresponds with the ideas of the enlightened critic and reader, we may in this article, although professedly on a musical subject, crave the attention of the poet, the historian, and even the learned; while we treat, in rather a desultory manner, of the poetry and song of the olden time, endeavouring to prove the eastern origin of both.

Although but auxiliaries in the great drama of life, melody and rhyme have so highly contributed to the progress of civilization, by humanizing the mind, and preparing the way for the accumulated advantages of the present times, that we can hardly estimate the great effect they have had on the formation of character and the success of enterprize. Connected with these, we may notice the two volumes by M. Fetis, the title of which heads this paper, a work exhibiting much sound musical knowledge and extensive reading, and displaying that lively yet solid style, which characterizes all his writings. Instead of analyzing his volumes, the object we have in view will be better advanced by giving all the information we can from memoranda we have long been collecting, in the hope that some qualified person among our literati may be induced to take up the subject.

Among the musical curiosities\* that the passion for discovery has lately brought to light, there are two that claim particular notice. The first was among the *Manuscrits du Roi*† in the Royal Library at Paris, of four collections of songs and other pieces, by a Troubadour of the name of Adam de la Hale, known also by the appellation of *Le Bossu d'Arras*, on account of his deformity, and the place of his nativity. He was born

\* In the "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the one True God," by Prasunnu Koomar Thakoor, Calcutta, 1823, there is a passage which, if considered as authority, will settle the long-disputed point as to which is the greatest personage in a concert—the singer, the composer, or the conductor:—

"The divine hymns, Rik, Gatha, Panika, and Dubshubieta, should be sung, because, by their constant use, man attains supreme beatitude. He who is skilled in playing on the lute (veena), who is intimately acquainted with the various tones and harmonies, and who is able to beat time in music, will enter without difficulty upon the road to salvation."

† See a more detailed account, with specimens of the three-voice song, page 218, of the Harmonicon for 1827. The MSS. are numbered 65 and 66, *Fonds de Cange*; No. 2736, *Fonds de la Vallière*; 7604, *Anciens Fonds*.

about 1240, and died at Naples 1287. Like all the Troubadours\* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Adam de la Hale was both a poet and a musician. Among these MSS., highly important to musical history, are twelve of his songs for three voices, and six motets. The songs have the form of the rondeau, and are entitled *Li ronel Adam*. The motets are composed of the plain chant of a hymn or anthem, set as a bass to Latin words, upon which two other voices make a sort of florid counterpart. *Le Bossu d'Arras*, it appears, is the author of the most ancient comic opera known to exist; it is entitled *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, and twenty-five copies have been printed by the society of Bibliophiles, of Paris, for distribution among its members. This work was composed at Naples, about the year 1285, for the amusement of the court, which at that period consisted almost entirely of natives of France.

The appearance of free melody in this pristine opera is very extraordinary, when we consider the time of its composition, and compare the dry, psalmodic, semi-barbarous style of the Troubadours, Adam de la Hale's companions, with the almost modern chantant air of "*J'ai encore à tel pastè*," sung by the character of Robin in this curious work. It is conjectured that he learnt from the Italians the principles of this art, which at that time were not even dreamt of in France.

The next musical curiosity we shall notice, is one that carries us still further back into the dark ages and into the East; undoubtedly the nursing mother of modern poetry and romance.† Among the MSS. in the British Museum there is one called "*Cantici erotici Arabice cum notis Musicae*," No. 3114 in the Ayscough Catalogue;‡ it is a collection of very curious Arabic

\* In a late number of "*The Musical World*," it is stated that Colin Muset, the Jongleur, has the reputation of having invented the *Vaudeville*, and round or dance song. Other authority ascribes the invention to Olivier Basselin, of Vire, who lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He was a fuller, and resided in the *Vaur*, or valleys below Vire, where he and his workmen used to sing songs of his composition as they spread out their cloth along the banks of the river. Some of these, being published, were called *Vaur-de-Ville*, afterwards contracted to *Vaudeville*.

† The Arabs had rhyme, according to Dom Calmet, "before the time of Mahomet, who died 632, and in the second century used a kind of poetry in measure similar to the Greek, and set to music." (See Dr. Burney's History, vol. ii. p. 227.) In a note to the above passage the Doctor observes, "If this were proved, it would fortify Mr. Warton's ingenious idea (Dissertation on History of Poetry, vol. i.), that *modern poetry and romance* were brought into Europe from Arabia at the time of the crusades. Chivalry had the same origin; and if the wild adventures of knights errant, with which the first romances were filled, are oriental, the rhymes in which they are clad may be derived from the same source."

‡ There is a Latin introduction to this book, as follows:—"Compingere sic solent illos libros in quibus miscellanæ volunt annotare, et præsertim quæ ad Poësti et acute dicta pertinent—

"In exteriore libri incisura habentur haec:—Ad latus dexterum, literis majoribus,

love-songs, hymns, &c. set to music? The date of this volume is 1060; there is a Latin index, from the items of which a writer in the late "Quarterly Musical Review,"\* who discovered this curiosity, proves the existence of counterpoint among that people. The specimen he adduces is a very rude one certainly; but when the scarcity, or rather total want, of information at that remote period is considered, this book must be deemed a rarity worth translating,† not only for the poet and musician, but even the historian, as it cannot be too strongly insisted on, that "we must look for the state of our forefathers in their *ancient rhymes, which served as their memorials and annals*. It is well known to the students of oriental literature, that the language and poetry of the Arabs had attained a high degree of cultivation even in the *sixth century of our era*.‡ There is little doubt, from an inspection of their musical instruments, that poetry went hand-in-hand with song; and any one who has looked over that superb work, "Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain," must feel convinced that architecture is equally indebted to this primeval nation for beauty of structure and elaboration of ornament, which have (variously modified) served as patterns to very many architects of succeeding ages. The indefatigable spirit of inquiry that now pervades every class of writers must surely tend to bring to light, at no distant period, some more certain proofs of the taste, ingenuity, and musical knowledge of that extraordinary nation, and may tend to confirm a favourite hypothesis of ours,

*Dominus ac Posse. Ad latus superius, Ali Bey Esanturi, sive Cymbalista. Ad latus sinistrum, A. Musicis C. accepta collectanea libri Imperatoris Muhammed Anno (vti ego coniicie) 1060.*

Among the subjects of Songs in the Index, are:—

"*De Expeditione Babylonica*;"

"*Carmine ex Warsagi*;"

"*De expugnationibus civitatis Babylonica*;"

"*In quendam rebellum nomine Kaidar*;"

"*Tetrasichon Arabicum, quod super gladio Mahomedi Prophete inscriptum fuisse tradunt*;"

besides many on the Turkish and Persian expeditions, which would surely prove of some interest to many who are studying the history of those countries.

\* Vol. viii. p. 308.

† The spirit and good feeling which influences every other government but our own in the cause of literature is manifest from the announcement, in our 36th number, of the publication of a series of oriental works, with translations, in 4to., by the Imprimerie Royale at Paris.

‡ There is another work on Arabia which is seldom met with, by Sam. Ockley; it is entitled "*History of the Conquest of Egypt, Persia, Syria, &c. by the Saracens*." Watts (in the *Bibliotheca Britannica*) mentions that, in the latter part of this work, there is an entertaining account of the manners and customs of the Arabians. The *Anthologis Arabicus*, by G. de Lagrange, Paris, 1828, is well worth consulting, by those who may have leisure and inclination to pursue inquiries on this subject; likewise *Bibliotheca Arabicus*, by Schnurrer; and in the Cotton MSS. (British Museum) there are some Arabic:—Nero, B. x. 776. B. 18.; Galba, A. ix. x.

that the music of the Egyptians,\* Greeks, and Russians, is derived from Arabia.

It is well known that the Romans traded extensively with the Indian markets, and from thence as far as Ocilis on the Arabian coast; may they not have imported some of the Arabic music, poetry, and musical instruments?† Who is to say in what style the best poetry of that people was written, whether in rhyme, blank verse, or a mixed measure partaking of both? Certainly there is no recorded instance of either the Greek or Roman writers using rhyme, but they dealt largely in tropes and figures, mostly drawn from natural objects,‡ so did the Eastern poets; they propitiated the gods, so did the Eastern poets; they used the most outrageous hyperboles, and offended decency in their mythological allusions, so did the Eastern poets, long before the Roman era. And notwithstanding all the refinement, the profound erudition, and the classical Latinity of the great poets and historians, yet, as far as imagination is concerned—after all the highest ingredient of poetry—we have the best authority for believing that the Arabians possessed that quality in an extraordinary degree:—

“ Obvious reasons may be assigned why imagination should be susceptible of culture at a period when the intellectual powers, which require the aid of experience and observation, must necessarily continue in infancy, and the very peculiarities which, in such circumstances, its

\* Mr. Campbell is of opinion that there is some contradiction in the accounts we have of the state of art and science among the Egyptians. “ Their temples echoed not to the sound of instruments, and their sacrifices were performed in silence; yet it is incredible that music and poetry should have been proscribed among them, as Dio Chrysostom asserts. They had pipes and lyres,\* and a people possessing instruments, yet destitute of vocal and verbal melody, is a thing unimaginable: so that the song among them, which Herodotus mentions, could not have been their only one.”—*Letter to the Glasgow Students.*

† Names of the musical instruments in Arabia:—*Arghan* (organ); *Assaf*, *Berbe-kia*, (species of lute); *Bouk* (horn of chase); *Tsai*, *Dab*, *dab*, (drum); *Dirridge* (do); *Zendge* (drum); *Zill* (cymbals, ivory castagnets); *Siriané*, *Sefakis*, *Schakin*, *Schebbour* (horn, *נִזְבָּח* of the Hebrews); *Schebbié*, *Schebbabe*, (flageolet); *Schoulbak*, *Schoulschoul*, *Schisan*, *Saffaré*, (flute); *Thahl* (drum); *Artab* (species of lute); *Asf* (stringed instrument); *Ghirbal* (tambour de Basque); *Kossah* (flute); *Kadhib* (Chalumeau or Alp horn); *Kinrim* (harp); *Kiz*, *Kieber*, (kind of drum); *Kiran* (lute or mandoline); *Kitsar*, *Kierhé*, *Kiemhr*, *Kinnaré*, (guitar, *Kinnor* of the Hebrews); *Kious* (tymbale d'airain); *Kitsar* (guitar or harp, the *Katros* of the Hebrews); *Kiaz* (six-stringed instrument); *Misher* (lute); *Mizmar* (flute, the *Nizamroth* of the Hebrews); *Mossasik* (kind of lute); *Mousikal* (Pan's pipes); *Mizef* (stringed instrument); *Nakib* (flute, the *Nakavim* of the Hebrews); *Hounboukat* (kind of flute); *Heirat* (shepherd's pipe); *Vann* (psaltery); *Venedge* (lute).

‡ “ The similes form a very peculiar feature of the Iliad. Of these there are more than 200, and there is hardly one of the number that has not been imitated nearly as many times.”—*H. N. Coleridge.*

\* M. Champollion sent to the Louvre a harp, 5ft. 8in. high, with some of the strings, a drum (like ours), tabor, &c. from Egypt.

productions exhibit, although they would justly be regarded as blemishes in those of a more refined age, may interest the philosopher, and even please the critic, as characteristical of the human mind in the earliest stages of its progress." \*

No modern poet has given to the world imagery more splendid, vivid, and effective, than that used in such profusion by the Persian, Arabian, and Hindostanee writers : they were not, like Hans Sachs and his companions, the master-singers of Germany, one moment working at shoemaking, the next at a poem. They drew their inspiration from the lovely climate, the delicious odours, the magnificent foliage and flowers, of "*Araby the blest.*" An order of bards, living in primeval simplicity, caressed by their princes, admired by the people, all they saw and felt—

" Turn'd as it left the lips to song."

Here is the mighty river that feeds all the tributary streams. Or, more aptly, it may be compared to an inexhaustible mine, from which half the world of poets have borrowed or stolen for centuries, without any perceptible diminution of its treasures. Then, again, even in their proverbs and sayings, what practical wisdom with appropriate figurative expression !

Antiphonial singing, or the mode of chanting the service, still in use in our cathedrals, where one portion of the choristers responds to the other, is another remnant of the ancient style of vocal music amongst the Arabs. Mr. Buckingham, who notices this in his "*Travels among the Arab Tribes,*" when attending church service in Damascus, mentions "the hymns of the choristers, who were chiefly children of both sexes, and sang in response to each other in the Arabic tongue in a manner resembling the songs sung in response by the boatmen on the Nile." The modern Arabs are not behind even the German peasants in fondness for, and knowledge of, harmony. The same traveller mentions having been at a party "where half a dozen persons sat together in a group and amused the rest with Arabic songs, while the listeners occasionally joined in the chorus. It was the first time of my ever having heard any thing like harmony in the music of the country, for here were two who sang in thirds and fifths, and one who sang in octave to the strain." The wedding-feasts of the Arabs are accompanied with music, in a similar manner to that of other eastern nations ; and the mutilated remains of their choral dances suffice to show what perfection their musical system had attained† in that department.

\* Dugald Stewart.

† " Among the ancients there were no festivals, no solemnities, that were not accompanied with songs and dances. It was not held possible to celebrate any mystery,

It may be remarked, in passing, that some writers, attached to the present style of ideas, maintain that the ancient dances of the Hebrews, which accompanied their canticles, and especially the dance of King David, were not, properly speaking, dances, but only gestures, attitudes, prostrations, by which they occasionally gave more fervour to their thanksgivings for any signal favour they received, as, for example, after their passage over the Red Sea, for the destruction of Pharaoh's army, and for their own deliverance from the persecution of the Egyptians. By this, also, they attempt to explain away that testimony, which David, by dancing before the ark, gave of his joy on that solemn occasion. The mistaken zeal for propriety thus annexes a ludicrous image to an act which, in remote ages, in divers countries, was considered part of religious worship, and was solemnized purely on that footing. The triumphal procession of the Roman emperors was performed not merely by walking but by dancing or exultation. Down as late as the last century, at Limoges, the people used to dance round the choir of the church, which is dedicated to their patron saint, and at the end of each psalm, instead of the *Gloria patri*, they sung as follows: "St. Marcel pray for us, and we will dance in honour of you." In most of the eastern nations, the religious dance was practised; as the ancient Chinese book *Tcheou-li* mentions a dance called *Tchou-vou*, invented by *Tcheou-kong*. "The dancers played on instruments which they accompanied with their voices, and they successively ran through the different notes of music. They began with an invocation to heaven, next to earth, after which, making a mock-fight, they addressed themselves to their ancestors; then, breaking out into loud cries, they called out to the four quarters of the world."\*

With respect to the musical acquirements of the Persians and Hindoos, much curious information may be found in the same papers to which we have before alluded.† An intelligent officer in the native cavalry of India has done us the favour to communicate a few peculiarities which he has frequently noticed in the music of that country. He describes the men's voices as being

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or to be initiated without the intervention of these two arts. They were looked upon to be so essential in this kind of ceremonies, that, to express the crime of such as were guilty of revealing the sacred mysteries, they employed the word *kheits*, to be out of the dance."—Sir John Gallini's "Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing."

\* Sir J. Gallini's *Treatise*, p. 78. In Sir R. K. Porter's "Travels in Persia," we find that he inclines to the opinion that the instrumental accompaniment to the Georgian dance is an oracular testimony of its high antiquity. "The like strains, though often uttered by very differently constructed instruments, with a similar kind of dance, are yet common among the Russian and Cossack peasantry, and are also to be found in Africa, and amongst the Indian nations of Asia, likewise in America, both North and South, wherever the aboriginal people have been suffered to exist."—vol. i. p. 137.

† *Quarterly Musical Magazine*.

similar to our counter-tenors; this is rendered more apparent when they all sing together, for they throw considerable energy into the upper and more shrill tones of their voices, not exactly in unison but nearly so, the effect being not very agreeable to our ears. They almost all have a strong nasal twang in their voices. The instrument most in use is the guitar, but the Fakirs, or holy men, in their processions, where they sing hymns to their deity, with loud shouts and energetic gesticulations, are accompanied by men beating the cymbals.

“ The ancient musicians of Hindoostan were generally poets and men of erudition, and sung their own compositions; in fact, music and poetry have always gone hand in hand,\* but all records of their proceedings have perished. Such was the jealous respect for their talent displayed by the musicians, that they adopted an austere method of living, concerned themselves little about the luxuries and vanities of the world, and would not be bribed to display their talents in public as hired professors. No gifts or grants were considered by them as worth accepting, as they cared for nothing. Princes and great men of taste, therefore, found themselves under the necessity of courting their friendship, and of accepting the fruit of their genius as a favour, for which they possessed no other means of repaying them but with honour and kind treatment. Their tribe likewise screened them from all sacrilegious violence, and ensured respect. The religious sentiments of the natives, who considered these persons as voluntary exiles, who had renounced the world, and dedicated themselves to the worship of the gods, added some weight to the admiration they commanded; and the ease and independence enjoyed by such men would excite the desire of its acquisition in others.

“ The consideration obtained by these men, in time induced several of an avaricious disposition to engage as pupils, and, after acquiring some knowledge of the art, to set up for themselves; but the sordidness of their views was soon discovered. They, however, still continued to maintain their ground till the country was overstocked with professors, who prostituted their abilities for a mere trifle; and lastly, considering themselves as ministers of pleasure, and, seeing that it answered their avaricious views, even engaged in other traffic not at all honourable to a man of any profession. They were become like the minstrels of England in the reign of Edward II., when it was found necessary, in 1315, to restrain them by express laws.”

One would almost imagine that the musical transactions of the

\* The attention of M. Félix may be called to the following Arabic MSS. extant in the Library of the Escorial. In the Index to the *Bibliotheca Arabica Hispanica*, 2 vols. fol. Madrid, 1759 (Catalogue in the British Museum), there are three deserving translation. “ *Musica Instrumenta apud Hispanos Arabes usitata*,” i. p. 527, c. 2. “ *Musica eorum nomina plerisque fuere Persica, quæ Arabic redditæ exhibentur*,” *ibid.* et seq. “ *Musice usum severiores Alcorani sectatores proscribunt*,” i. p. 483, c. 1. There is also “ *A Treatise on the Manners and Customs of the Arabians*,” by Laurence D’ Arvieux, Paris, 1717, 12mo., the English translation of which we have in vain endeavoured to procure, as it is conjectured to furnish much important information on this subject.

present day in England might furnish a parallel to this desecration of the art in Hindooostan.

"In accounting for the origin of the gamut, they say that the various sounds of which it is composed are derived from the natural sounds or calls of various animals. The *Khuruj*, they assert, is in imitation of the call of the peacock. The *Rikhub*, of the bird called pupecha; the *Gundhar*, of the lowing of a sheep; *Muddhum*, from the call of the bird named coolung; *Punchhum*, *Koel*, *Dhyvat*, the horse, and *Nikhad*, elephant. How far (says Captain Willard) this opinion can be maintained, I leave the reader to determine. I was not aware before I got a sight of native treatises on music, that the lowing of sheep, the neighing of horses, or the call of the elephant, could be construed into musical sounds."

We assure the author of this entertaining treatise, that if he wishes for information on the subject of animal music, and the derivation of sounds from nature, the text-book on this subject is Gardiner's "Music of Nature," in which he will find the notes of most animals, birds, &c., and much ingenious and fanciful information, the result of many years' observation, which, like other really useful works, is not as much consulted by professed musicians as it ought to be.\*

In the former part of this paper we have intimated our belief that rhythmical measure and melody connected with it were known and practised in considerable perfection by the oriental poet-musicians, and are happy to have the opinion of so enlightened an amateur as Captain Willard on our side.

"From the certain knowledge of the rhythm of the ancients, and the similarity observed in the practices of the natives of India, Persia, and other oriental countries, it inclines me to the opinion that the rhythmical measure is the lawful offspring of nature, found in all parts of the world, which existed much prior to the birth of her younger sister, the modern measure."†

When we speak of the graces and *rifiorimenti* of modern

\* If the composers of the present day would read with the same assiduity with which they *write*, how greatly they would add to their attainments in the art! The modest and indefatigable Weber knew well the advantage of this habit. We are indebted to the preserved fragment of a Turkish dance in the *Essais Historiques de la Musique*, for the germ of the finely imaginative music in "Oberon." The first notes for the horn in the overture, and the chorus, "Hark what notes are swelling," are parts of this ancient dance.

† As it evidently appears that rhyme was employed with melody in all celebrations, public and private, may not time and research bring to light the Asiatic origin of the ancient Lyric *Planctus*, or *Chants farcies*, which in their turn gave origin to, and immediately preceded, those dramatic mysteries which the monks used to perform? This kind of lyric recitative, in which the people joined, is said to have been first introduced about the middle of the eleventh century. (See paper, "Paris Morning," &c. in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March, 1836.)

songs, it is usual to suppose this style of florid singing to spring from Italy, and that it was *invented* there: how must even a *prima donna* be surprised to learn that this very same kind of singing was practised by the musicians of Hindoostan ages back?

"The peculiar nature of the melody of Hindoostan not only permits but enjoins the singer, if he has the least pretension to excel in it, not to sing a song throughout more than once in its naked form; but on its repetition, which is a natural consequence, occasioned by the general brevity of the pieces, to break off sometimes at the conclusion, at other times at the commencement, middle, or any certain part of a measure, and fall into a rhapsodical embellishment called *Alap*, and, after going through a variety of *ad libitum* passages, rejoin the melody with as much grace as if it had never been disunited, the musical accompaniment all the while keeping time. These passages are not reckoned essential to the melody, but are considered only as grace notes, introduced according to the fancy of the singer, where the only limitation by which the performer is bound, are the notes peculiar to that particular melody, and a strict regard to time."

We have always imagined that, when the songs of the ancient people of India came to be examined by competent judges, they would prove to belong to a very different class of poetry to what is conjectured from the ideas entertained of an idolatrous nation; the authority we have been quoting shows how near we were to the truth. The songs of the aborigines of Hindoostan will bear comparison with those of any other country for purity and chasteness of diction, elevation, and tenderness of sentiment.

There is only one point upon which we cannot agree with Captain Willard, when he speaks of the inadequacy of the Arabic language for musical purposes (p. 32). Of the Persian, Arabic, and Hindooostanee languages, the Arabic is allowed to be the most natural of the three,\* as there is no doubt whatever it is the most ancient, and was in a high state of perfection as a grammatical tongue, when other languages were in a crude state; the natural result of savage manners and ignorant superstitions. It is in the true pronunciation that language displays

\* "It is now generally agreed by those who study oriental literature, that the Arabs do not possess any authentic literary relics anterior to the sixth century of our era, and that the poems called *Maalakat* all belong to that, or the beginning of the next century. It cannot, however, be disputed that at the time when they were composed, the language and poetry of the Arabs had already attained a high degree of cultivation; the language appears in them with perfect grammatical regularity, and subject to all the rules of a fixed system of prosody." And what is quite as extraordinary, and a collateral proof of the euphonious ease of its pronunciation,—"The Arabic alone has outlived all its sister-tongues, and has spread not only as the vernacular tongue all over Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa, but as also the language of religion throughout Persia, the Turkish Empire," &c.

its euphonious properties, and until we can make sure of the actual sound of Arabic vowels and terminal letters in the ancient days of that country's palmy state, we must be careful in determining its non-capabilities for musical purposes. If it be true that classical scholars cannot yet agree as to the actual sound of the open vowels in the Latin tongue in the days of Cicero, surely it is not too much to assert that no standard can now be formed of the musical capabilities of the Arabic.

" Songs which have love for their theme," observes Captain Willard, " are the most numerous amongst all nations. In Hindoostan there is one other motive for their being esteemed—as the acts of the god *Crishnu*, they are considered as pious hymns. The old sing them as acts of devotion, the young derive pleasure from their contents."

This deity is quite a Jupiter in his way.

" He is represented as the unrivalled Damon, Paris, and Adonis of Hindoostan, beloved by all the fair without exception. He is emphatically styled ' *Mohun*,' or the enchanter. His person was so graceful that every woman who once beheld him became instantly enamoured of it. His pipe possessed such irresistibly attractive charms, that none who ever heard it could attend to anything else, however serious, incumbent, or necessary. It diffused a sort of phrenzy along with its tone, the influence of which could not be withstood by any woman of *Vraj*. Neither the usual cares of the household, the desire of arraying, so natural to the female sex, nor the threats of the enraged husband; no, not even the attention due to a hungry and crying infant, could for a moment detain her from following the impulse occasioned by the sound of Crishnu's flute." \*

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\* The tones of different instruments have been compared to the variety of colours, and there is doubtless some analogy, but the world is improving in hypothetical theory, for, on perusing a very clever Italian work (a) the other day, we found even the notes of the gamut compared to the different colours, thus,"

Ut.....	.....	equale all' azzurro.
Ut diesis .....	.....	verde.
Re.....	.....	verde chiaro.
Re diesis .....	.....	verde ulivo.
Mi.....	.....	giallo.
Fa (b) .....	.....	color d'aurora.
Fa diesis .....	.....	rancio.
Sol.....	.....	rosso.
Sol diesis .....	.....	cremisi.
La.....	.....	violetto.
La diesis .....	.....	violetto azzurro.
Si .....	.....	azzurro color d'aria.
Ut.....	.....	azzurro.

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(a) *Ricerche Storico-critico Scientifice sulle origine, scoperte, intentione e perfezionamenti fatte nelle Arti, Scienze, &c.* Don G. Amati.

(b) In this instance Signor Amati agrees with Mr. Gardiner, of Leicester, who says that F is the key of nature; we have found some deviations occasionally. The roar of the sea breaking against a rock is generally in B flat.

There is one other peculiarity respecting the music of this people which must be noticed. Their authentic melodies are limited to a certain number, and it is considered almost criminal, as it is nearly impossible, to add one single melody of equal merit. Whatever intrinsic worth any modern composition might possess, should it have no resemblance to the established melody of the country, it would be looked upon as spurious, so tenacious are the natives of Hindooostan of their ancient practices. The poetry of these authentic melodies (*Rags* or *Raginées*, as they are termed) embraces every variety of subject, mythological, domestic, sentimental, warlike, &c. We may notice one or two, as they serve to corroborate our idea respecting the origin of poetical melody in the East.

“ *Malcous.*

“ An athletic young man, of rosy complexion, and intoxicated with wine. His vestments are blue, and he holds a staff in his hand. A string of pearls is round his neck. He is surrounded by women, whom he addresses with gallant familiarity.

“ *Toree.*

“ This delicate minstrel is clothed in a white *sarce*. Her fair skin is tinged and perfumed with touches of camphor and saffron. She stands in a wild romantic spot, playing on the *veen*. The skill with which she strikes that instrument has so fascinated the deer in the neighbouring groves, that they have forgot their pasture, and stand listening to the notes which she produces.

“ *Gooncuree.*

“ The grief which is depicted in the air of this female, the tears which flow fast from her eyes, the scattered wildness of her hair, which wantons with the breeze, the sighs which she breathes, and the dejected posture in which she is sitting under the *cudum*-tree, with her head leaning forwards, prove the anguish of her heart for the absence of her beloved.

“ *Kidara.*

“ The subject of this *Raginée* is of a masculine character. The young man in white garments wields a sword in his right hand, and in his left grasps the tusk of an elephant, which he has rooted out. A bard standing beside him recites the praises of his valour.”

In the first of these (*Malcous*) we have the counterpart to Bacchus. The second (*Toree*) points to the possession of similar power over the brute creation ascribed to Orpheus, Amphion, and other musical enchanters, whose exploits in this way are now considered only half fabulous. *Kidara* reminds us of Ossian’s heroes, whose movements were always accompanied by the bard.\*

\* Many of the images and other figurative expressions in Ossian are decidedly oriental, and are modified only by the difference of climate in the two countries.

The science of music in Sanscrit is termed Sungeet. The invention of it is attributed to demigods, and, amongst others, to Narud, Sumeshwar, Hunooman, and Coolnath. Several treatises were written and are in existence, but they are so obscure, that little benefit is to be expected from them to the science. The poets and musicians of Hindooostan divide their year into six seasons, and one of these is allotted to each *Rag*, with his *Raginiés*, *Pootrás*, and *Bharjyas*. Their system includes the chromatic scale, consisting of the seven notes of the gamut, subdivided into twenty-two parts. Their diatonic scale is termed *Moorchnuna*, and extends to three octaves.

We must now turn to the north, to examine the state of music in Russia, as corroborative of our idea of its eastern origin. The form of the instruments is one means of proving the similarity between the eastern and northern musical systems. In a scarce work, " *Dissertations sur les Antiquités de la Russie, par M. Guthrie*," printed at Petersburg 1795, a copy of which, with MS. notes by the author, is in our possession, there is a set of plates of their instruments, and among them is the *gourdok* (or guitar violin), the *gously*, a five-stringed dulcimer, and the figure of a boy playing on the *double flute*, which corresponds exactly with the *tibicen*, plate vi. Burney's *Hist. vol. 4*, which was taken from a bas-relief in the Farnese collection: all these, together with the cymbals, drum, and one nearly resembling our modern *grand caisse*, called the *crotalum*, are rudely sculptured on a portion of the ruins of an ancient church or temple, supposed to be Arabic, discovered by a modern traveller in Spain.

The oriental imagery in the Russian songs is the next striking analogy.\* There are several in Guthrie's Dissertation, a few of which we give with his translation, it is called *Chanson Khorovodnia*.

" ' Between the Don and the gentle Danube, a youth, collecting his horses all bridled with gold, met a young maiden, whom he intreated to guess what it was that he wished for? I could very soon guess, said the maiden, if I were not afraid of my father: still I will guess once, as you are the only son of your house, the handsome Ivanuschka, (or little John.) ' "

\* Let not the serious reader be uneasy at this volatile skipping about to all points of the compass; there are more things yet to come which may startle his mind from its propriety. Any one anxious for an oriental pedigree may be furnished without the trouble of applying at the Heralds' Office.

This makes out Turner's strange assertion,  
That ev'ry Englishman's a Persian!

See Sharon Turner's paper on the Asiatic origin of the Anglo-Saxons, *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature*, vol. ii. part 2.

**Mr. Guthrie remarks—**

“ This ancient song may furnish us with many inferences which naturally arise from its style. We find that the class of wandering minstrels, who were the authors of this kind of song, wandered with their herds from the banks of the Don (or Tanais of the ancients) to those of the Danube (or Ister), for the youth here mentioned is represented as collecting his horses in some place between those two rivers. We next find that they possessed numerous herds of horses ; and the assertion that they had golden bits is not here a poetical license, as it is probable that they were accustomed to make excursions into some rich country, to procure quantities of that precious metal ; and this, however unlikely it may at first appear, is not impossible, for, if the riches of Colchis could attract the Argonauts from Greece, through all the dangers of the Euxine, when navigation was still so imperfect, in order to obtain the gold of the Phasis ; assuredly a warlike people, who were, comparatively speaking, in its neighbourhood, might be equally tempted to dip a fleece in that famous stream, and to gather the gold dust, like those ancient Greek navigators, if they did not even take it ready gathered, which appears very likely.

“ An examination of these plains between the Don and the Danube seems to afford collateral proof of the correctness of this song, respecting the gold found in those countries. A number of mounds, or conical tombs of earth, called by the natives kourgans, are scattered here and there, much resembling the tumuli in the field of Troy, described by the Abbé Chevalier, in the third volume of the Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions. These kourgans contain rings and pieces of gold, with the sword and skeleton of a chief. The wealth of the people in horses seems clearly proved by the quantity of bones remaining of that animal, found buried beneath the mounds. Herodotus mentions that these plains abound with wild horses.

“ There is another of these songs rather singular and somewhat ridiculous in its character, which I subjoin, No. 21. ‘ The Pike of Novgorod.’ ‘ A pike set off from Novogorod whilst his tail was still in the Bielo Ozero (that is, the White Lake.) His body was covered with silver scales, and his head beautifully variegated with different colours.’ This allegory I include among the mystic symbols of the ancient hydro-mancy of this country ; there is something similar in that of the Indians, from whom I have no doubt the Russians, Greeks, Gauls, and Britons, derived the worship which they paid to the liquid element. The mention of the Gauls reminds me of a ceremony obtaining amongst that people, which has some distant affinity to that which forms the conclusion of the modern Russian semi-c. In dry seasons, when the want of rain was felt, a Gallic maiden used to seek for a venomous plant, called belinuncia ; after she had found it, her companions cut down branches of trees, and accompanied her to the first river, into which she plunged her vegetable offering, whilst the others dipped their branches in the stream to sprinkle her body with the sacred fluid.”

We could proceed to many other striking analogies noticed by

Guthrie, to show the great similarity between the rites, customs, and manners, of the Russians and the Asiatic nations, but two more will suffice.

In a remark on one of these songs, Mr. Guthrie alludes to the similarity of the *Noël* (short vocal pieces) in parts to those sung at the Russian feasts *Koleda*; a kind of saturnalia, celebrated about the same time, and he entertains no doubt of their high antiquity. These people have also borrowed from the Romans and modern Italians many of their customs and pleasures.

"The Russians, like the ancient Romans, dine in one room and eat their dessert in another, exactly the *bellaria* or *commissatio* of antiquity, and I cannot help thinking the Russian name is happily chosen for it; they call it *slatkaiye zabavlenia*, the sweet pastime.

"There seems another striking analogy, for I make no doubt that the nuptial flambeaux were formerly of fir or pine (our *hutchuika*) before the Christian priests introduced wax tapers, exactly the *tæda pinea* of antiquity.

In "The Present State of Russia translated from the High Dutch, 1723," we glean some few particulars of their dramatic performances. "The Princess Natalia once had the direction of a tragedy which, as well as a farce, were of her composition, a compound of sacred and profane history. The piece was interspersed with the drolleries of *Harlequin*."

Count Segur seems to think that these pleasantries were a revival of those of former times.

"Under the reign of Boris, Russia became sad and sullen; the minstrels who had been wont to traverse the country now disappeared; their songs of war, of the chase,\* and even of love, were heard no longer. It is only in the chronicles of the time that we can discover the traces of those finished manners, those mellifluous songs."

Against our supposition that the Russians (and we may add the ancient Celts) derived their imagery and music from the east, Pinkerton, we remember, in one of his works, furnishes some collateral proofs that the northern Celts had flutes, guitars, harps, trumpets, and other instruments, of *their own invention*; and he supports his opinion by stating that the names of most of them are purely Celtic. Using the same kind of reasoning, we might say that the phrase, burden of a song, is a Spanish invention, because the Spaniards call *bordone*, the concluding verses of a song chорussed by the company; whereas we know that the same thing

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\* To those who are curious in such matters we may mention that there is a work extant, entitled, "Origin, Progress and Present State of the Russian Hunting Music," (in German), by Heinrich, Petersburg, 1797, in which the whole system of this class of melodies is defined and explained.

exists in other countries under different titles, *carol*, *roundelay*, *vierlay*, all meaning the chorus or burden.

In all their ancient musical exhibitions, gesture and action accompanied the music.\* In this lies the grand secret of the art in former times: melody, rhyme, and measure, aided by appropriate action, must have produced effects which neither harmonical elaboration, nor the augmentation of instrumental power, can ever attain. Simplicity, feeling, and appropriate expression, are so diluted, overloaded, and mingled, that the real elements of musical effect lie buried beneath the accumulated heap of modern improvements.

From what has been said, it will be conceded that much remains to be discovered before our hypothesis can be fully proved. If, however, the few hints we have thrown out should induce one competent person only to look further into the subject, sure we are it will be an interesting, as in all probability it will prove a satisfactory, study. Content with the humble office of pioneer, we cheerfully endeavour to clear the way for others, trusting some day to find it "true that the wonders of the romances of the knights of the round table and twelve peers of France were transported by Odin from Asia into Scandinavia, thence into England and France, and into Russia at the time the Normans settled themselves in that country."†

As it is seldom in this Review that music forms a subject of consideration, we cannot close this paper without a just tribute to the memory of Dr. Burney, *that clever dog*, as Dr. Johnson was facetiously pleased to call him. It has lately been attempted, for about the two hundredth time, to revive the hyper-critical assertion, that Dr. Burney *stole* all the *best parts* of his General History of Music from Sir John Hawkins. We have taken pains to ascertain the falsehood and expose it, and if these parties will look at the 5 vols. 4to. of Hawkins, bequeathed by him to the British Museum, they will find an extract from the Gazetteer of Sept. 23, 1776, announcing the publication of Sir J. Hawkins's book *that day*, and at page 21 of the Preliminary Discourse, he says, "at the beginning of this present year (1776), the musical world were favoured with the 1<sup>st</sup> vol. of a work entitled '*A History of Music*', by Dr. Burney." Not to mention this volume, which contains the most elaborate and best digested treatises extant upon ancient Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek music; in his preface the Doctor

\* "The words of this piece were said to be strong and persuasive, partaking alternately of hope and despair, and they were accompanied by such gestures as made the whole intelligible to us." See Capt. Jones's *Travels in Russia*, 1797.

† See article *Russia*, For. Qua. Review, 1827.

expressly tells us, "Printed materials lie open to us all; and I spared no expense or pains either in acquiring or consulting them. With respect likewise to MS. information, and inedited materials from foreign countries, few modern writers have perhaps expended more money and time, undergone greater fatigue, or more impaired their health in the search of them than myself;" by which (if there is any belief in the deliberate assertion of a man whose honour was never impeached except in this frail instance) it is evident that the materials for his *whole work* were gathered but not arranged. As to Sir John Hawkins' *judgment*, we give one of his MS. notes: let the amateur or professor decide. "Singing follows so naturally the smallest degree of proficiency on any instrument that the learning of both is unnecessary!!"

The following is a list of works on the department of music upon which we have been touching; they are all accessible to the inquirer, and contain much desirable information hitherto overlooked.

"*Bévues, erreurs, et misprises de différens auteurs célèbres en matières Musicales.* Par M. Lefebure. 4to. & 12mo. Paris. 1789." British Museum.

"*De representations en Musique anciennes et modernes.* Par Le Menestrier. 12mo. Paris. 1681." Do.

"*Entretiens sur l'Etat de la Musique Grecque au quatrième Siècle.* 8vo. Paris. 1777." Library of the Royal Institution.

"*Lettre critique et historique sur la Musique Française, Italienne, et sur les Bouffons.* 8vo." British Museum.

"*Musicus Autodidactos.* 4to. Erfurth. 1738." British Museum.

"*Del Resorgimento d'Italia Sig. Betinelli.* 2 vol. 8vo. (Bassano)." British Museum.

"*La Galerie de l'Academie Royale de Musique.* 8vo. 1754." British Museum.

"*Le Beuf (L'Abbé), Traité historique et pratique sur le Chant Ecclésiastique.* 8vo. Paris. 1741." British Museum.



ART. VII.—*Histoire de la Littérature Allemande depuis les tems les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, précédée d'un parallèle entre la France et l'Allemagne.* Par A. Peschier, 2 vol. 8vo. Paris and Geneva. 1836.

THIS work is intended to fill up a void in modern philology, by giving, in a moderate compass, a comprehensive history of German literature, from the first rude specimens of the language to its present high state of cultivation. The literature of Germany is now one of the richest, and certainly the most prolific, in Europe; it is the literature of a country reckoning some forty and odd millions of people—a country which holds, together with France, the balance of the Continent. It is well to look to this latter fact, namely, that Germany, with its two great monarchies and its other kingdoms and principalities, is now more than ever the great focus of continental diplomacy. Russia itself, the great scarecrow of newspaper politics, could not attempt any thing serious, at least in western Europe, but as an auxiliary of one or both of the two great German powers. On the other side, if we look to the rational progress in modern society and to the spreading of liberal institutions, we find nearly one half of Germany under representative governments, which, although they may not have attained the expected perfection which some people attribute to the Spanish constitution of 1812, are still, it must be acknowledged, many steps in advance of the real absolutism of the late Ferdinand VII. In short, Germany, notwithstanding the grumbler both native and foreign, is a tolerably happy, thriving, moral, well-informed and contented country, at least as much so as France, and perhaps England too. Surely such a country and its people, their manners, opinions and language, and their literature, which is a reflection of all the rest, ought to be attentively studied by the philosopher, the statesman, the politician, the philologist—by every one, in short, who feels an interest about the general concerns of mankind. And yet the language and the literature of Germany are known both in France and England only to a chosen few. It is astonishing to see the ignorance and the indifference that have prevailed, especially in France, until very recently, concerning a nation which cannot even be said to be separated from it by the Rhine, for both banks of that river in Alsace and Lorraine, which are provinces of France, are inhabited by people of German stock, and speaking German as their vernacular tongue.

Madame de Staél was the first who broke through the wall which prejudice had raised between France and Germany. Her work, "L'Allemagne," although consisting of separate sketches, and not forming a connected history, yet eloquently and pow-

erfully written, appeared at a time when a wilful man wished to fashion all human mind to a mould of his own. Official reproof and exile were the rewards of her truly fearless attempt; for at that time there were real grounds for fear from the displeasure of Napoleon. Savary's coarse and vulgar sneer remains an imperishable memorial of the system by which the mind was fettered in those times, through the will of one who has been styled the son and champion of the revolution, and who is still looked upon by some credulous people as a favourer of liberty. Peace came, and it was no longer treasonable to study and admire the productions of the German or the English muse. Since then Herder, Schiller, Göthe, Niebuhr, John Paul Richter, Hoffman and others, have been translated into French. The *Revue Germanique* and *Revue des Etats du Nord* have made known the contemporary progress of German literature. But still how little is known of the great majority of German writers, of the learned lucubrations of so many professors of the hundred German universities and colleges—the profound civilians, the abstruse metaphysicians, the accomplished scholars, the indefatigable geographers and historians, who toil and labour for the benefit of future generations? Savigny, Thibaut, Ritter, Heeren, Boeckh, Neander, Schlosser, Böttiger, O. Muller, Hammer, and many more, to how few are they known out of the limits of their own country? A work was wanted to class by order of dates and of departments of literature the best among the innumerable writers that Germany has produced, in order to impart some idea of what they have accomplished in their respective walks. This is what the book before us has in some degree performed. The author, M. Peschier, was happily situated for such a task. He is a native of Western or French, as it is commonly styled, or, more properly speaking, Romande Switzerland; a land of transition between Germany and France, which, without being either French or German, yet partakes of the moral temperament and intellectual character of both countries. That south-west corner of Switzerland, the Vaud, Geneva, and Neuchatel, the country of the ancient Burgundians, is like a stepping-stone between France and German Helvetia, which latter is itself one of the out-posts of real Germany. With much of the sound judgment, sincerity, and *bonhomie* of the German character, the natives of Romande Switzerland unite the liveliness of imagination, the quickness of repartee, and the social refinement of the French. They can therefore appreciate what is valuable in both, and as they belong to a neutral country and have no national prejudices against either, they are likely to be more impartial than either in their judgments. But besides this, our author has qualified himself for his

undertaking by a residence of some years in Germany, by having visited its principal cities, by having mixed freely in German society, by having formed connexions in that country, and becoming, in fact, almost naturalized in it. His work bears in its dedication the name of a distinguished and highly estimable German writer, Baron La Motte Fouqué, which is of itself a recommendation. The first volume begins with an introduction of sixty pages, with the title "Germany and France." It is an original sketch of the disparities between the two countries, and is not the least interesting part of the work. We will quote a few passages, which will give the reader an idea of the author's turn of mind and of his style.

" ' Man is the same every where ; ' such has been one of the wise saws of certain critics, who, looking at the mere surface of the human mind, have observed some general tendencies which are common to almost all nations. It may be true that on the threshold of life men resemble each other ; the cradle is the common starting point of all ; but the resemblance stops there. Climate, manners, habits, religion, education, all tend to break the uniform mould into which nature seems to have cast us. As men proceed along the road of life, the individuals, one after another, separate themselves from the mass, and each attains a distinct physiognomy of his own. These characteristic features which constitute originality in man, form also the elements of the individuality of nations, which is one of the profoundest mysteries of creation. It were a most interesting subject for study, to seek out the causes which stamp each people with a peculiar character ; but this is too vast a field of inquiry for our present work, and we must content ourselves with stating here some matter-of-fact observations. Two great principles exist simultaneously in Europe ; on one side the spirit of order, stability, and unity ; on the other the love of progressive ideas, of variety, and movement. These two principles exist together, but in very different proportions in each of two neighbouring countries which are divided by the course of the Rhine. In Germany, outward calmness and repose prevail, but in the moral and intellectual world within, there is a continual stimulus for progress and change. This moral activity, this constant desire of extending the sphere of the human mind, have earned for Germany the name of the country of thought. In France the principle of stability, of fixity, prevails internally ; but externally every thing is under the influence of movement and variety. Germany has become long since the land of intellectual progress, while France is the centre of the political and social movement. . . . . The Germans look upon ideas as the source of all our impressions, whilst the French, placed at the other extremity of the moral scale, believe in the sovereign empire of sensations over the development of the intellect. This dangerous dogma is one of the articles of faith of Condillac's philosophy, and we all know the influence of that metaphysician and his disciples upon the philosophers of

the eighteenth century, who did not scruple at last to strip man of his soul, and the universe of its Creator. Thus, while the head is perhaps too busily at work in Germany, and the mind, by dint of soaring higher and higher, loses itself at times in the misty regions of an unproductive contemplation; on the other side, the doctrine of sensualism, adopted by the French, has led them once already by a rapid descent to the most deplorable effects of a desolating materialism. By reducing every thing to the miserable proportions of our fragile and perishable nature, and trying to explain, mechanically, the phenomena of our intellect, they came to consider, in the end, the noblest faculties of the soul as material and physical gifts. Virtue was no longer the offspring of heaven, refined feeling was owing to weakness of organization, and people fancied that they had discovered, in the predominance of certain fluids in our animal economy, the courage which produces the hero, and the self-devotedness which inspires the martyr. They were on the point of establishing a course of diet and sanitary treatment in order to stimulate or modify talent, of putting a straight waistcoat on the poet, and confining genius in a lunatic asylum. Such a system cannot be favorable to poetry, etc. . . . . ”

“ The French are characterized by their quick intelligence of the affairs of the world, their diplomatic shrewdness and perspicacity, their mobility, their rapidity of thought and of action, by minds alert and supple like their bodies, by a warlike instinct; to which they owe their brilliant laurels, and lastly, by their taste for pompous ceremonies, brilliant festivals, and splendid monuments. Opposed to this existence, wholly external and practical, stands the genius of meditation, which belongs to the nations of the North; a character more grave, more reflective, of a more abstruse nature, an imperative want of diving into one-self, and analyzing the most fugitive sentiments of the soul. Man, in Germany, is a world in miniature, in which, notwithstanding the discoveries already made, there remains still some unexplored spot, some unfrequented and uncultivated nook.

“ In France, the rage for politics pervades all classes of society. Proteus like, it assumes all forms, and protrudes into every conversation. But politics fill little space in the ordinary existence of the Germans; they are too careful of their material welfare, too fond of a peaceful and comfortable home, too accustomed to an inward life, to have, generally speaking, much relish for the stormy scenes of public life, for the struggles of the bar, the hustings, and the parliamentary debate. This natural taste of the Germans for retirement, domestic life, and the silence of the cabinet, accounts for their reserve and coolness in the social relations, and for the absence of that free and communicative gaiety which imparts a charm to French conversation. Variety and the desire of pleasing effect greater wonders on the left than on the right bank of the Rhine. We often miss in Germany the elegance of *ton*, the urbanity of manners and of language which are so natural to the French; even the appearance and carriage of the people in the former country is somewhat stiff and starched. But their apparent frigidity is owing to bashfulness, and, instead of a common-place gallantry, they

have the true politeness, which is that of the heart ; for it is the nation which has most benevolence and cordiality. The women of Germany are not gifted with that vivacity of spirit and mobility of imagination which render French women so fascinating ; they have neither the prompt repartee of the latter, nor their wonderful sagacity in deciphering the most recondite mysteries of the human heart, nor the tact which gives an original and refined turn to the expression of every thought. But the women of Germany possess other qualities which endear them for ever to those who have once deserved their confidence and obtained a place in their friendship ; they possess a frankness and simplicity of heart, a candour of feeling, and an evenness of temper, owing to a natural fund of indulgence and general benevolence, which is soon perceived in their intercourse with strangers.

" The prevalent qualities of the French are wit and sagacity, but the Germans have more soul and more imagination. The former are more sensible of faults than alive to beauties ; more fond of art than of nature ; quick of impression, they are also quick in shaping their thoughts, but they are likewise, at times, exclusive, wilful, and superficial. The Germans are more reflecting, grave, and conscientious : they conceive slowly, and are circumspect in forming their judgment. Hence it was to be expected that the theory of the fine arts should have assumed a very different character among each of the two nations." — *Introduction*, p. 1 — 14.

The author, in noticing the various phases of the French critical art, speaks with just praise of Montaigne, Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, and Fenélon. In the 18th century, however, literary criticism, in France, gave way to a presumptuous dogmatism, an impertinent frivolity of judgment, to which Voltaire himself lent his then paramount influence. Our age has seen the revival of a better taste, in proof of which we may mention Madame de Staél, Benjamin Constant, Guizot, Villemain, Barante, Thierry, with a chosen band of young writers, who follow the track of those, regardless of party prejudice and clamour.

" As for the Germans, (our author goes on to say,) they move on in the front rank of the most forward among the nations of Europe. To criticize the works of the great masters, whether in literature or the arts, is not with them a common vocation, the solution of a mere grammatical or rhetorical problem ; it is an important and almost apostolic mission. They are not satisfied with passing judgment on the creations of accidental genius, but they must re-ascend through the course of ages, and explore the sources of the true principles of the art ; those principles which are applicable alike to all times and countries. . . . A great critic in Germany stands on a par with a great orator or poet ; he enjoys equal respect and equal applause. He feels what he writes, he sympathizes with a noble thought, a fine action, a generous sentiment ; his criticism is lofty, eloquent and inspired. Germany, in short, is the country of æsthetics." — pp. 20, 21.

" There are, in many an obscure town of Germany, studious, hard labouring men, miners of thought, who pass years, sometimes perhaps

half a century, in solitary retirement, without their names being heard of. They care little about popularity or fashion ; they work, not for a party, a coterie, a saloon, but through real love of science, supported in their task by their enthusiasm for the good, the beautiful, and the useful—for all that is great and generous in the heart of man—in order to pay what they look upon as a sacred debt towards their country, and towards mankind. Owing to this spiritualism, to this prevalence of the soul over the other faculties, the Germans, even in the midst of the illusions of their fancy, have always bowed with respect to the great dogmas of immateriality and immortality, which form the key-stone of the structure of religion."

Through the remainder of this interesting introduction our author traces the influence of the national character in the differences existing between the German and French styles of conversation, their music, their poetry, and lastly their drama. The whole parallel is remarkably well kept up and clearly defined.

After recalling in the first chapter of his history the scanty memorials of the ancient Germans, drawn chiefly from the masterly sketch of Tacitus, who seems to have been inspired by a kind of instinctive foreboding of the destinies of that unconquerable race which stood alone opposed to Roman despotism and Roman corruption, our author points out the most important distinction between classical liberty and the liberty of the German races. " Among the nations of antiquity, liberty was collective and not personal. The masses were first ranged into independent political bodies, every individual of which was nothing by himself, but acquired importance only as a fraction of the great whole. They were not free-willed men, but citizens, the slaves of their country for life and death." The word "*patria*" had a despotic influence ; it was a sort of divinity to which every thing must be sacrificed, and for which any crime or cruelty might be perpetrated without remorse, and every self-denial or privation endured. There was something grand and noble, at least to the imagination, in this self-devotedness, but it was any thing but individual liberty, the liberty of a rational and responsible being. It was fit for men who had no definite idea of any thing beyond the grave. In our own times, men of a similar mind have sought to revive this classical liberty, with the magic words *patria*, glory, &c., with which they have certainly effected astonishing, but unprofitable and merciless deeds, and only for a short space of time ; for they found that the masses were not so docile as those of ancient Rome or Sparta, in their blind enthusiasm and stoic resignation. Men, in our days, are apt to inquire for what they are called upon to sacrifice their lives, their dearest ties, and their peace ; and an empty word does not always afford to them a convincing answer. Christianity has greatly contributed to effect this mortal change : it

was Christianity that first recalled man to his individuality ; that told him that he was a free agent ; that he had an immortal and invaluable soul ; that he lay under a personal responsibility towards his Creator, a responsibility unknown to the ancients ; that he was amenable to a higher and very different tribunal than that of his country, or Cæsar's, or men's opinion. These solemn truths imparted a new and healthy freedom to man's mind ; they inspired the Christian convert, whether freeman or bondsman, with a sense of his own dignity ; they gave eloquence to the apostle, firmness to the confessor, and holy resignation to the martyr. This spiritual individuality easily allied itself to the old personal freedom of the German nations,—a freedom founded upon individual strength, and a nomadic state of society ; and from the two together, the modern European notion of liberty has sprung. In this distinction between classical and individual liberty, between the liberty of men, as enlightened moral agents, or the mere political sovereignty of the uninformed masses, which is but another form of despotism, lies much of the solution of the political, religious, and social problems of our own times.

In Chapter II. our author treats of the era of Charlemagne, himself a son of Germany, whose long reign throws a streak of vivid light across the darkness of the ages which intervened between the fall of the Roman empire and the time of the Crusades. With Charlemagne the literary history of Germany may be said to begin.

German literature is supposed, by many foreigners, to be of very recent creation, because it was only in the last century that it became familiar to the rest of Europe. This, however, is a mistake, for, without going back to the ancient war-songs of the German bards, recorded by Tacitus, or to Ulphilas' Translation of the Scriptures, we find poems written in the Teutonic dialects in the age of Charlemagne, such as Hildebrant and Hathubrant, which was republished by the Grimms, in 1811 ; the war-song on the victory of Louis III. of France, over the Normans ; the paraphrasis of the Gospel, in high German, by Ottfried, of Weissenburg, in the 9th century, with another contemporary version in low Saxon ; the Annals of the Saxons, by the monk Witikind, and those of the Emperors of Germany, by Dittmar, Bishop of Merseburg, both of the beginning of the 11th century, as well as the Chronicle of Lambert of Aschaffenburg, and the noble hymn in praise of St. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne. Our author gives extracts of these various productions. He leaves out the Latin literature of Germany of the same period, to which many of the clergy, both secular and regular, and also some nuns, applied themselves, and which exhibits some interesting productions.

For this branch of information we might refer our readers to the comprehensive sketch given by Mr. Dunham, in his excellent *History of the Germanic Empire*, (Lardner's Cyclopædia), Book II. *On the religious and intellectual History of the German Church during the Middle Ages.*

Under the Emperors of the Franconian dynasty, Germany distracted by the great struggle between the throne and the altar, produced but few specimens of literary talent. Even the stirring period of the first Crusades could hardly rouse the German mind from its torpor. With the Swabian dynasty in the latter half of the twelfth century, appear the *Minnesänger*, "singers of love," very different, however, from the Troubadours of the South, to whom they have been compared. The Troubadour is gay, thoughtless, and licentious; the *Minnesänger* is tender and plaintive, spiritual and lofty. The former sings of love and chivalry, and of the varied incidents of war and *courtoisie*; the latter, although many *Minnesänger* had been with the Crusades to Palestine, seldom if ever alludes to the adventures of chivalry and romance; he dwells chiefly upon the inward feelings of the soul, upon the refined sentiments and pangs of the tender passion; his strains are chaste and melancholy, they are marked by a disdain of sensuality, and of the corruptions of the world, with allusions to the contemporary history of Germany, and occasional aspirations after the purer joys of another world, and the sublime visions of eternity.

The series of the most celebrated *Minnesänger* begins with Henry of Waldeck, who was contemporary with Frederic Barbarossa, and ends with Hadsloub under Rudolf of Habsburg, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Our author gives specimens of some of their compositions, especially from Walther von der Wogelweide, who is one of the most interesting of the whole series.—p. 187—202.

The epic muse followed close upon the lyric effusions of the *Minnesänger*. Its first essays in Germany were borrowed from the then prevailing romances of Arthur and his Peers, and of the St. Graal. Wolfram of Eschenbach, whom Schlegel has greatly praised, wrote *Tiurel* and *Perceval*, and the *Lohengrinn*, or *Lorrainer*; and Godfrey of Strasburg wrote *Tristan* and *Iseult*. But the German poets soon turned to national subjects, and produced the "Book of Heroes," which treats of the exploits of the Goths and other races, and the *Niebelungen*, which is less historical and more romantic, but in which a gigantic historical figure towers above the mists of fiction; this is Etzel or Attila, "the scourge of God." The author of the *Niebelungen* is not ascertained. This poem has been styled the *Iliad of Germany*, as

that of *Gudruna* has been called its *Odyssey*. Then came *Rother*, or the Red King, which relates to the wars of the Lombards with the Greeks in Italy, *Otnit*, *Hugh Dietrich*, and *Wolf Dietrich*, which are full of sorcery and magical wonders. These poems are of the age of the Hohenstauffen, a brilliant epoch for German chivalry and romance.

The *Meistersänger* are another class of poets peculiar to Germany. The epoch when they flourished was about the time of the decline of the *Minnesänger*. The latter were the bards of the aristocracy, they were chiefly knights themselves; the master-singers were the poets of the municipal towns and corporations, burgesses, tradespeople, and artizans, who formed musical and literary societies or schools, in which a sort of apprenticeship was required; they had competitions or trials of skill, had certain fixed rules of composition, and had their judges of poetical merit. The schools of Mainz, Strasburg, Colmar, Frankfort, and Wurtzburg, were the most celebrated in the fourteenth century; those of Nürnberg and Augsburg in the fifteenth; those of Ratisbon, Ulm, Münich, and Breslau, in the sixteenth; and that of Basel in the seventeenth. Many of their effusions were satires on the vices of society; others were religious, such as paraphrases of the Scriptures, hymns, &c. At the time of the Reformation the master-singers proved a powerful auxiliary to Luther and his colleagues, with whom many of them were connected, and whose cause they embraced.

Germany was at the same time rich in popular songs and ballads. They were of many sorts; religious songs, which are marked by a feeling of sincere piety, free from coarse superstition, a feeling more prevalent perhaps in Germany than in other countries during the middle ages; they had hymns upon the great mysteries of the Christian faith, upon eternity, future life, &c., which are truly sublime in the simplicity of their expression. There were also ballads for the different trades and callings of life, such as the fisherman's, the hunter's, the shepherd's, the husbandman's, of which the melody as well as the words are imitative of the sounds and scenes familiar to each. The fisherman's song is distinguished by a monotonous hollow tune, resembling the moaning of the wave striking against the shore; that of the hunter is shrill and wild; that of the shepherd soft and calm. The songs of the husbandman are varied, some for each season, adapted to the various works of the field. In several towns and villages of Germany, towards the beginning of the spring, winter, represented by a *Jack Straw*, is driven out by the children, amidst joyous clamours. The vinedresser's song is like those of old, satirical, and somewhat licentious. The miner's lays are among

the best; they are marked by a sort of religious awe; as his labour is among the mysteries of the subterraneous creation; they tell of sylphs and other genii which guard the treasures concealed in the bowels of the earth.

Among the warlike songs of Germany, those of the Swiss on the occasion of their wars with Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, deserve a distinguished place. Veit Weber is the most celebrated among these martial bards of Helvetia; he was present at the battle of Morat, in 1476, and describes with fearful truth the rout and carnage of the Burgundians.

Of the satirical compositions of those times, Reynard the Fox, and the Ship of Fools, the latter by Sebastian Brand, a Doctor of Laws at Strasburg, were the most popular. The former is more of a political and religious satire; it lashes the vices and gross corruption of the clergy and monks of those times, which must certainly have been very great, for chroniclers and poets, novelists and moralists, in every country of Christian Europe, laymen and clergymen themselves, doctors of the Church, and even Popes, have all expressed their reprobation of them. The Ship of Fools is a more general satire on the follies and vices of all classes; the poet lashes the various manias of the times, bibliomania, melomania, dansomania, &c.; he attacks fops, drunkards, gluttons, upstarts, sensualists: who are all shipped together in the author's vessel, in which he also, with great good humour, takes his passage. The gloomy but powerful verses which accompany the well-known series of paintings which were seen at Basel, and other towns of Germany and Switzerland, and which are called by the name of the Dance of Death, may also be reckoned among the satirical effusions of Germany in the middle ages.

The middle ages conclude with the Reformation, and the Reformation boasts as its champion one of the most powerful minds that Germany has ever produced, Martin Luther. In our own times a disposition has shown itself in various quarters, to undervalue that great man. The truth is, that unless a man feels strongly the importance of religion, and at the same time the value of mental freedom, he cannot have sympathy for such a mind as Luther's. Luther considered religion as the most important business of man, and it is because he considered it as such, that he wished to take it at its very source, unalloyed by tradition and human authority. He fought for the right of every man to consult the great book of the law, the Scripture, in order that his reason may be enlightened, and that his faith may not be the offspring of mere servility. He fought for liberty of reason, not for licentiousness; for the liberty of Christians, not for that of

infidels ; with the latter he had nothing to do. The question between Luther and his antagonists is of material importance only to Christians. To those who do not believe in Christianity it seems of little consequence what Christians do believe, and how and whence they derive their belief. To such men the various communions and sects of Christianity appear but as human contrivances, but even they, were they logical in their reasoning, might at least allow that, in a social point of view also, it is better for men to exercise their own judgment, and to be able to give reasons why they believe certain dogmas, and follow certain rules of morality, than merely to say that they were told so by another man, who had himself been told so by another, and so on. And then observe the result of these two ways of believing, upon human actions. One will believe only what is consistent with the text book ; the other may be made to believe anything, and to act accordingly. At the time of the Reformation in Switzerland, a plain-spoken abbot, alluding to the state of subjection in which the peasantry were kept by the clergy, observed that, " had the system continued much longer, we should at last have persuaded the people to feed upon straw." But it is unnecessary to proceed further with this argument. One has only to read the history of the times which preceded the Reformation, in order to see the state to which Christianity was reduced. Catholic writers have acknowledged the deplorable corruption of the Church in that age, and it is not one of the least important results of Luther's mission, that the clergy of the Roman Church have since become much more exemplary in their conduct, more studious and better informed, and more temperate in their sentiments, than they were in the fifteenth century.

It is not, however, our author's object to consider Luther as a great theologian and controversialist, but only to advert to the influence of his writings upon the German mind and literature. Few foreigners are aware of Luther's services in this particular. It was he who gave that impulse towards spiritual philosophy, that thirst for education, that soundness of logic, which have made of the Germans one of the most generally instructed, most rational and moral, and most intellectual nations of Europe. Being convinced that education is the natural ally of religion and morality, Luther pleaded, unceasingly, for that of the laborious classes, boldly telling the princes and rulers, how dangerous, as well as unjust, it was to keep their subjects in ignorance and mental degradation. His catechisms for children are masterpieces in their simplicity ; the moral precepts which they contain are exactly adapted to the tender capacities of the readers. His explanations of the Psalms, and of passages taken from the Old

and New Testaments, his sermons, and other works, are all full of useful moral precepts ; they all bear testimony to the profound religious conviction of the author ; they all exhibit his admiration for the works of the creation, and his deep sense of the perfections of the Creator. His penetrating eye dives into the abyss of the human heart, and discovers its darkest recesses. But he is no gloomy ascetic, no contemplative visionary satisfied with deplored evil, or seeing no remedy but in extremes ; his precepts are all practicable, his morality is social, and his faith is cheered by hope and charity.

To Luther the German language is indebted for much of its improvement, for its clearness and loquacity, and for that flexibility which distinguishes the works of later writers. The style of Luther is vigorous, straight-forward, and comprehensive ; it is not the style of a conceited sceptic, who doubts because he is ignorant, and who renders us as weak and undecided as himself ; it is the style of a sacred orator, who affirms because he himself believes, and who believes in obedience to the inspiration of his conscience, and to that divine light which the Gospel displays before him. He employs, at the same time, all the resources of polemical rhetoric to move and to convince ; he appeals to the heart, as well as to reason ; he mixes passion with dialectics ; sometimes even he descends to a vulgar jocularity of manner ; he mixes bad taste with genius ; and the German idiom, which was still cramped and unmanageable, comes from his pen more ductile and fashioned, though not disfigured, by his genius. Luther's version of the Scriptures, an imperishable monument of his learning and patience, a master-piece of precision, fidelity, and elegance, constitutes his best title to the gratitude and veneration of Germany, for having rendered the Bible popular and intelligible to all classes, and made it the domestic book of the people.

Luther's table-talk and his familiar letters, are enlivened by imagination, a graceful turn of thought, and often by a harmless and pleasing hilarity of manner, which denote that the mind of the writer was happy and satisfied with itself. His religious hymns, on the other hand, have much power of expression, and considerable poetical merit.

Ulrich von Hütten, a poet and a warrior, was a contemporary of Luther's. He is best known for an anonymous Latin pamphlet, styled "Letters of some Obscure Men," which had as much success at the time, as Pascal's celebrated "Provinciales," two centuries afterwards. It is a series of letters attributed to the pedantic supporters of the scholastic method, which then reigned paramount in the colleges and universities of Europe, exposing their ridiculous style, their Beotian ignorance, their hatred of in-

novation, their intolerance, presumption, and religious hypocrisy. The correspondence was considered for a time as genuine, and the scholastics themselves were deceived. But when the trick was discovered, anathemas fell on every side on Hütten's head, and his book was formally excommunicated by Rome. He wandered about to avoid persecution, and at last died in 1529, in a little island on the lake of Zürich, which is still known by his name—"Hütten's Grab," or Hütten's Grave.

Thomas Murner, a Franciscan monk, and a determined but conscientious adversary of the Reformation, ranks high among the German writers of the 16th century. Although a champion of Catholicism, he did not spare, in his honest indignation, the vices of his clergy, which he lashed, like those of all the other classes in his satirical poems, and especially in his "Corporation of Rogues."

Fischart translated, or rather imitated, Rabelais, but the keenness of his humour exceeded even that of his model. The title alone of the German work is a full specimen of the writer's eccentricity. He also wrote an heroic-comic poem on the expedition of the Zürichers, in a boat, by the Limmat and the Rhine, to Strasburg, where they presented the citizens of the latter city with an enormous kettle of millet soup, which was still warm on their arrival, in order to encourage the Strasburgers to join their confederation, by showing them that the distance between the two cities was not so great as they might have supposed.

In the 17th century, the long struggle, known by the name of the thirty years' war, afforded little encouragement or leisure for the cultivation of literature in Germany. Opiz was, however, a remarkable exception; he wrote many poetical compositions, and a treatise on German prosody, whence he has been styled the father of German poetry. The most distinguished disciples of his school were Flemming and Gryphius. Flemming is known for the romantic adventures of his "Mission to Persia," whither he was sent by the Duke of Sleswig. He died young, soon after his return home, and left a collection of short poems, which abound in tender and impassioned feelings, and with recollections of the strange regions he had visited. Gryphius was chiefly a dramatic poet; some of his dramas are not destitute of merit, and one of his farces is still popular in Germany, for being a caricature of the boastful military jargon which prevailed in that country towards the end of the thirty years' war. The principal character, Captain Horribilicribififax, is a type of military fanfare. But with these few exceptions, the 17th century may be considered as a barren period in German literature and taste, and with it M. Peschier closes the first volume of his work, which

will, perhaps, prove the most acceptable to readers in general, because it treats of the least known part of the literary history of Germany. In the 18th century, German literature appears full grown, but it did not come forth so at once, like Minerva out of Jupiter's head, as some people seem to have supposed.

We can afford but little space to our author's second volume, which treats of the 18th century, a ground much better known, and which has been already trodden by our predecessors in several articles of this Review. After speaking of the influence of French taste upon German literature, in the earlier part of the 18th century, of which influence the critic Gottsched, of whom Göthe, in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, gives such a curious portrait, was the chief supporter, and of the national reaction effected by Bodmer and Breitinger, our author speaks of Klopstock and Lessing as the reformers of German taste, and the champions of a national literature, as Winckelmann was the restorer of taste in the fine arts.

The influence of France extended to the sentiments and opinions, as well to the style and manner of literary composition. The Berlin Academy, the philosophical coteries favoured by Frederic, the influence of Voltaire, and the French encyclopedists, all united to propagate among the Germans a contempt for the past, by sneering at nobility, feudal recollections, and old national songs and romance. Engel, the philosopher, Nicolai, the bookseller, and Bahrdt, the theologian, were among the coryphaei of this coterie, which, in the name of tolerance, exercised the most intolerant sway over the literature of Germany. But they found a stout resistance. Klopstock, Hamann, Claudius, Jacobi, Lavater, Herder, Göthe, formed a powerful opposition against the efforts of scepticism and sensualism. Herder was especially the object of the attacks of the Berlin philosophers; he was a man profoundly impressed with the feeling of religion, and had a genuine enthusiasm for the beautiful, in nature and poetry. He collected the popular songs of the different nations, which he classes into two categories, "Songs of the North," and "Songs of the South," and which form a sort of universal history of the different races of mankind. But his most important work is, "Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind." His prevalent idea is, that this world is only a preparation for another existence; that human life is only the bud of a flower, which will open hereafter. The whole history of humanity, according to him, is a struggle for spiritual freedom against the material world by which man is fettered—for the triumph of the infinite over the finite,—for the emancipation of the mind, the reign of the soul. Man is continually struggling against sensual forms; he is con-

tinually changing the objects of his worship: at every step the world seems to constrain and embarrass him. He feels the want of a purer and wider sphere to breathe in.

"In vain the ancient East, slumbering on the faith of its symbols, thought of having chained man for ever by mysterious allegories: on the opposite shore, an infant people arose, which laughed at its enigmas, and triumphed over its apathy. In vain Roman selfishness, watching the various forms of religion and society, availed itself of them to enthral the whole; in the midst of the silence of the mighty empire, a hollow murmur was heard from among the forests of the North, which, growing louder and nearer, scared away the legions that vainly pretended to place an eternal boundary to progress or change; the stream poured in, destroyed that fabric of unity and slavery which had been reared at so fearful a cost of time, labour, and blood, and new and varied forms of existence sprung up from among the scattered ruins. . . . It is thus that we follow the wanderings of mankind through the history of ages, without knowing what will be the termination of these strange vicissitudes, and when the weary traveller will at last behold the pinnacles of his native Ithaca."

Lichtenberg was a disciple of Lessing, and shared his metaphysical opinions, which led to a sort of spiritual pantheism, very different, however, from the materialism of the Paris and Berlin coteries. Lichtenberg was a natural philosopher, a moralist, and a satirist; he was the father of the humorist school of writers, of which Jean Paul Richter became afterwards the most finished specimen.

Our author bestows a long chapter on Göthe, which is well worth perusal; but as this subject has been repeatedly treated in our journal, we will not dwell upon it. He next treats of Wieland, Schiller, Bürger, Höltz, Frederic Stolberg, Hebel, Mathisson, and Salis; he then passes in review the dramatic writers, Werner, Grillparzer, Iffland, Kotzebue, Kleist, Müllner, &c. Of the historians he notices Schlözer, Spittler, and Müller; and among the novelists, Tieck, Jean Paul Richter, Hoffmann, Lamotte Fouqué, and Musæus.

The fifth and last chapter of the work treats of the German literature of the nineteenth century, that is to say, of the writers who have appeared first in the present age, and although, as our author observes, there is no Schiller or Göthe amongst them, still we think that he might have devoted to them more space than a score of pages. He will probably make up for it by adding a third volume to a new edition of his work. He has entirely omitted to notice, with the single and most honourable exception of Niebuhr, a most numerous and most meritorious class of German literati,—the eminent scholars, critics, archæologists, and illustrators of the works of antiquity, a class for which

Germany stands by far the foremost in Europe. Classical scholars and commentators constitute a branch of literature as much as the historians, and many of them, like Heeren, Böttiger, O'Müller, Boeckh, &c., may be called historians likewise. Several thousands of new works appear now annually in Germany, but most of them resemble in taste the ephemeral productions with which France is also inundated, and serve to feed that craving, not for instruction, but for factitious and transitory emotions, that idle curiosity, that restlessness without an object, which are characteristic of our reading age. Of these abortions of the press we may say, borrowing Dante's words—

“ Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.”

Among the historians our author mentions Zschokke, Schlosser, Raumer, and Rotteck. Of dramatists he notices Raupach, Immermann, Count Platen, Grabbe, and Brentano; of the lyric poets Koerner, Schwab, and Uhland; of the novelists, A. Lafontaine, Hauff, Alexis, Spindler, Van der Velde, Steffens, Mesd. von Schopenhauer, and Caroline Pichler, Achim von Arnim, Novalis, and Chamisso, and he speaks very highly of the last three. Of Heine our author observes that—

“ The *Reisebilder* contains the whole of his political, religious, and literary faith; in politics a bitter hatred against despotism, and a warm sympathy for liberty and progress; in religion a vague and confused Deism; in literature a total independence of rules and coteries; but above all that old rancorous feeling of liberalism whose shafts are deadly, and which strikes its enemy to the heart. His satire is full of originality, but he seems to forget at times the rules of good taste, and of literary convenience.”

Börne, another champion of ultra-liberalism, has assumed as his peculiar mission to abuse all that is doing in Germany—

“ In his bitter invectives against his countrymen, he attacks both sovereigns and people, the learned and the journalists, by bitter and contemptuous sarcasms; he sneers at diplomats, charges even violent demagogues with servility, and upon every occasion he quotes France as the model country, as the sun-dial of Europe; he has entrenched himself within Paris as in a citadel from which he keeps up a constant fire against the country of his birth.”—p. 488.

We now take leave of M. Peschier's work, which we can conscientiously recommend to those who wish to form an idea of Germany, its people, and their literature.



ART. VIII.—*Lettres sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme.*

Par Fulgence Fresnel. (Letters on the History of the Arabs before Islamism.) By Fulgence Fresnel.) 1836. Paris.

SINCE the study of eastern literature began to attract the attention of Europe, that of the Arabs has naturally taken the foremost place, if not in esteem, at least in consideration. We say naturally, inasmuch as, brought into early contact with our forefathers in the days of the crusades, geographically situated in the centre of states that, however equal or superior in antiquity, had yielded their records to the common doom of mortality, and left their language as a doubt, their existence as a dream of time's earliest morning ;—the Arab, who derived his source from patriarchal times; whose language had imbibed and retained the profuse varieties of a hundred tongues; whose knowledge had been schooled in the learning of Egypt, the traditions of Syria, and Hebrew revelation ; who had treasured from infancy the science of Chaldæa, preserved the recollections of Assyrian greatness, and, amidst the wastes of Edom, and the rocks of Petra, caught the living accents of Nabathæan lore ; to whom the unknown Ethiopian was a brother, the Armenian a subject, and the wild wanderer of Southern Persia a friend, and often a purchaser ;—who had spread commerce along the African shores, and brought the jewels and muslins of India, and the rich produce of Ceylon, to the homes and desires of the western world ;—who, in a period of darkness, had acknowledged and enshrined the intellectual wealth of Greece, and lent to eastern fable the splendours of his own imagination ;—the Arab, we may justly admit, was entitled to claim the first attention of Europe. The fame of his language, literature, and creed, no less than the remembrance of his valour and magnificence, inclined our minds to listen to his voice, and ask the details of those mighty deeds and days, the fragments of which had been so scantily preserved by the careless and ignorant inappreciation of the classical writers. Europe, indeed, not unreasonably expected that a nation so learned, so famed, and so situated, uniting so high a degree of intellectual civilization with so much of luxury, and so undisturbed a retention of patriarchal simplicity and freedom, must have necessarily become in the course of ages the very storehouse of antiquity—at once the dépôt and the carrier, if we may so use the term, of archaïology as of merchandize.

It is incumbent on us now to confess that these great anticipations have not been altogether realized, and in truth that they have been disappointed to a considerable extent. On the causes we cannot and need not enter here; it will suffice to observe in

passing, that the historians of Arabia, though highly useful to a certain degree, yet do not furnish us with sufficient information to render us fully cognizant of the real value of their works. They are generally curious rather than interesting, imaginative rather than skilled in antiquity, and deriving their knowledge of the past from traditions, and generally from sources unexplained to us at present; so that, though they assist our imagination certainly, and sometimes our reason, they nevertheless fail in satisfying our judgment. The excessive diffuseness and difficulty also of their wonderful language, so utterly opposite in principle to European speech;—the elaborate diversity of their grammatical forms, and the infinite variety of the dialects they control; with the boast that these may be acquired in six years, but mastered in not less than ten;—all these offer so formidable an array of obstacles to our more intimate acquaintance with their lore, that we generally are tempted to pause, even within the threshold of learning, to ask what is the value of that which must be purchased at such a price; and it is often, we opine justly, relinquished with the doubt that untiring, unravelling its Gordian intricacies will not obtain us the desired World, of antiquity.

We must confess ourselves of the number of those who have taken this desponding view of Arabian literature, though the cause has only latterly become obvious to the mind; and it is, amongst others, the work before us, together with the later researches of some of the highest Arabic scholars, that has produced a conviction now so different from our earlier and fonder belief; nor need we hesitate to point amongst those to whom Arabia, equally with Europe, is deepest indebted for the profoundest researches into her records and language, to the living and venerated name of De Sacy, as one of the bases of our scepticism; and since even his investigations, and those of our own greatest scholars, have failed to induce the degree of elucidation expected, we are irresistibly drawn towards the conclusion, that these have failed to discover it only because it had no existence. The West, in truth, has for some time felt, if not acknowledged, this conviction, and inquiry has turned from Arabia to explore the treasures that may be hidden by the Guebre veil of the Persian, or stored in the sanctuaries of Sanscrit antiquity; or haply scattered in dust through the various nations that tread the Tatar deserts or people Hither and Farther India, from the inhospitable Euxine and the mouldering relics of Bactria, to the vaunted and suspicious reservations and reluctance of China.

Of the latter country it is remarkable, that in spite of our commercial interests and slowly increasing acquaintance with her language and literature, no work upon Chinese history, from

authentic Chinese historians, has been attempted in England, to whom Europe looks for such a present. But this is beyond the limits of the view to which we have here endeavoured to turn attention, and we must return to the volume that forms the subject of our article.

The poem of Schansara is chiefly, though imperfectly, known to Europe by the *Chrestomathie Arabe* of the Baron Silvestre de Sacy. Many passages, however, were in such a state that none more than that eminent scholar could desire their farther examination and illustration. M. Fresnel likewise felt this; and whilst prosecuting his researches in Egypt, his friend, a Syrian gentleman, M. Faris Schidyaq, discovered in the *divan* of Ebzakawi, a modern poet, a commentary on the *Lamiyat-al-Arab*, attributed to Mouhammed, son of Yahiya, surnamed Moubarrid. As M. Fresnel had his doubts regarding the sense of some verses of the poem of Schansara, he procured a copy from M. Faris.

"We must," he proceeds, "have meditated for years upon a point of physics or philology, to know how the heart beats at opening the volume, whether of nature or tradition, that contains a solution of our doubts. A real lover of truth would read with the same candour whether his views are confirmed or corrected." M. Fresnel has also consulted, and carefully we must say, the ancient glosses of the text; but he has not always followed their interpretations, since Arabian, like other, commentators, have their strong and weak points, and he has therefore trusted his own judgment in a great measure.

The *chef-d'œuvre* of Schansara affords a specimen of ancient history; and, according to M. Fresnel, of the *prose* of the heroic times, being the most ancient monument of Arabian literature that exists. But the fact must not raise expectation of antiquity too high; for of the period cotemporary with the heroic ages of Israel, the history appears lost for ever, with the exception of a few traditions, scattered over an immense space. The really existing Arabian monuments date only from the century before Mahomet: but as the simplicity of ancient manners remains long amongst nomade tribes, the term heroic may be applied to those of the Arabs even at the period when they first attract our notice in a regular form. The prose referred to is of that period, accompanied with fragments of poems. Djellal-Addeen Assoutiyy informs us that before Mahomet, the Arabs (of the tribe of Maad) had no other annals than their short poems. "At that time," he observes, "when a Bedouin related an historical fact that was new to his auditory, they never failed to say to him, Recite us some verses to support thy narrative." From which it is evident that,

contrary to our own practice in modern times, poetry was considered the legitimate vehicle of historical truth, and prose but as its fanciful embellishment.

A curious speculation might be raised upon the comparative justice of the ancient or the modern notion : but we have no room for such, and must proceed with our immediate object ; observing with the author, and in reference to this subject, that the Arabian poems are not *epopea*, like those of Homeric antiquity, but simply odes, or songs, alluding to events generally known in the poets' age and country, but generally unknown elsewhere.

The historical personages who figure in this history are, M. Fresnel remarks, partly the same as those of the historical and chivalrous romance of *Antar*—"that Orlando of the Desert, who wanted but an *Ariosto*" (a common want, we think) "to become an epic, and to fill up one of the two *lacunes* which appear, to our surprise, in Arabian history." When the rhapsody aforesaid, which, it is said, is about to be printed at Boulaq, shall have been translated, it will be curious to compare the history with the romance : perhaps the child may assist to recover some traces of the parent.

The Arabs, however, who possess this series of tales from tradition, regard with scorn the well known romance of *Antar*. The causes which they assign we can easily feel and understand, since their traditions preserve a far more patriarchal impress than that celebrated fiction, and strip off far more effectually the fanciful traits which imagination so long had bestowed on the Arabs, their chivalry, generosity, high faith, and freedom from many of the vices of civilized life. Several of our recent travellers have found mournful evidence that such associations must henceforth be disconnected from the children of Ishmael ; and it is in a great measure owing to the new view given by M. Fresnel's volume of the real state of the desert tribes, that we have devoted so much space to his work, and also from the fact of its not being generally accessible, but published privately by the author for the use of his friends alone. The high praise bestowed upon the work by one of the best English judges of the subject, and who resided long in Egypt, is the surest testimony in favour of M. Fresnel's labours.

The events are called in Arabic *Ayam*, which may be freely rendered in English, *Exploits*. The Bedouins, in Mahomet's time, so called not only their battles and combats, but even their skirmishes and marauding expeditions. Nor only this : a *biráz*, or single combat ; an assassination (the act simply, without the attendant horror) sufficed to constitute an *Ayam*, which took its name from the place where it occurred. Before Islamism, how-

ever, the Arabs rarely dealt with death on a large scale. *Ælius Gallus*, it will be remembered, in *Strabo*, lost but seven men by the hands of the Arabs in a six months' campaign, commenced in *Arabia Petræa* and concluded in *Yemen*. In one battle the Roman general affirms that he killed 10,000 Arabs, and lost but two men himself. Such, if we can believe it, were the ancestors of those who overran the Old World from the *Ganges* to the *Loire*: but the warriors who figure in the pages before us occupy an intermediate space, and nearer to the conquerors themselves than to their forefathers.

The mode of preserving history in *Arabia* is somewhat novel to Europeans, and is in fact *conclusive* as to the mooted preservation of long poems of celebrity. It is therefore well worth consideration.

"The narrator, on whose faith the exploits are told, and whose own words are given by the compiler, is *en général*, *Abou Oubaydah Mamar*, the son of *Mouthanna*, a contemporary of *Haroun Alraschid*. It is, however, necessary to observe here, that the prose of the narrator does not belong to him, any more than to the compiler.

"*Abou Oubaydah* did not attempt to draw up the history of the *Arabs*. Far from this, all his merit, in the eyes of his contemporaries, and of the *Caliph*, his disciple, consisted in the talent of repeating, word for word, without the omission, addition, or transposition of a single letter, all that he himself had previously heard narrated by a *schaik* (or doctor of his own class); the latter being, in like manner, but the repeater of a more ancient *schaik*, and so on, successively, up to the author of the recital, whom we may place a century and a half, or two centuries, before *Abou Oubaydah*; so that the prose I now read with my own *schaik* is of the same age as the facts it relates, excepting only a very few observations, which evidently appertain to the narrator or the compiler, but generally to the former. Men like *Abou Oubaydah* were called *rouwah*. During a long course of centuries, nomade *Arabia* possessed no other historians; and we should have no reason to complain of this, had they thought somewhat earlier of committing to paper the precious deposit intrusted to their memories. Unfortunately, they recurred to this too late, and when the recollections extant were nothing in comparison with what had been forgotten. *Abou Oubaydah* was one of the first who put down in writing the historical traditions of the *Desert*."

In fact, the only difference between the language of these documents and that of the *Moallakat* is, that the latter is verse, and the former prose, mingled with verse however.

The MS., it seems, contains eighty Exploits, written without any assignable order, and entitled "Exploits and Encounters of the *Arabs*." *M. Fresnel* has lately procured a perfect copy of this work, of which he possessed originally but a small portion.

We must refer the reader to the work itself for some highly

interesting particulars, and shall be happy again to meet our learned and ingenious author when he has completed his announced labours on the History of the Age which preceded and prepared for Mahomet. "What treasures," he exclaims in transport, "unknown from *Fez* and the *Escurial* to *Bokhara*, and from *Oxford* to the heart of *Yemen*!" Even if insufficient for a complete history of that poetic period which, in expiring, gave birth to Islamism, a collection of authentic traditions, mounting up to that epoch will always have its value, both as forming in itself a picture of manners, and as referring to the classical poems of Arabia.

The difficulties which M. Fresnel finds, however, with his materials for translation are not, in our opinion, such as need deter any one from the task, and seem rather calculated to impress European than Asiatic readers. The classical Arabic is not an unknown tongue, nor insuperable, as he seems to call it. The confusion of letters and want of vowels or distinguishing *points*, though a serious obstacle, yet is daily lessened, by a more intimate acquaintance with the language, to a certain degree. The MSS. the translator has acquired, and will acquire hereafter by research, will assist to supply the sense in some places and the *lacunæ* in others: and practice will render translation, even into his native tongue, however adverse its idiom, easy to his undoubted talents, ardour and learning. But we must turn to his work, and, in offering some portion of it, are sure we do but direct attention to a labour that will amply repay curiosity by novel information. The first extract refers to the well-known *Antar*.

*Preamble of the Arabian Compiler.*

"It was said to one of the companions of the prophet of God: On what subjects do your conversations turn in your private meetings? He replied: We recite the verses of our Poets, and talk of what passed in our times of ignorance.

"Some one has said, I wish we possessed with our Islamism the generosity of our forefathers in their Paganism. *Antarah* of the cavaliers was a Pagan, and *Alhaçan*, the son of *Hani*, a Mussulman. Well! *Antarah* was retained within the bounds of duty by his honour, and *Alhaçan*, son of *Hani*, was not restrained by his religion. *Antarah* has said in his verses,

"'And I close my eyes when the wife of my neighbour is about to appear, until her tent veils from my glances my neighbour's wife.'

"But *Hassan*, son of *Hani*, has said, even in the bosom of Islamism,

"'Youth sustained my effrontery. \* \* This led me to enter at night, and when all the world was buried in sleep, the dwelling of a woman whose husband was from home.'

We quote the above principally to refer to the very able notes of the editor on the foregoing; full of information on the subject of facts and manners, and which show that in Arabia, as elsewhere, apparently slight niceties of distinction often involve material differences of fact. Taken into consideration, too, with the not critically explained biblical usage of the term "thy neighbour's wife," and the coeval antiquity of the Arabian nation, it may be thought to throw a light upon a passage of Scripture. Again,

"Mouhalhil was the first Arabian poet who composed more than two or three verses in a single vein, or on a single theme (according to Djellal-Addeen Assoutiyy); the first who lied, i. e. introduced Hyperbole into Poetry, according to the author of the *Aghani*."

A poem improvised by this novel Orpheus is undoubtedly a curiosity, as M. Fresnel conceives. He gives us two, one a funeral oration, the other a chant of menace.

"Oh Koulayb! there is nothing good in the world, nor in its inhabitants, since thou hast abandoned it.

"Oh Koulayb! what man can ever rival thee in value or power? Who can compare with thee in holding the cup, under the roof of the drinkers, under the might of the cupbearer!"

"When the Heralds of Death had made me hear the name of Koulayb, I said to them: And Earth is not shaken! and the mountains still stand!"

"Did he not maintain all in its place? Was it not he whose might and resolution.... Oh! my brethren, I cannot number his virtues.

"Who like him could curb the horse, and make both horse and horsemen measure their pace amidst wildest alarms!"

"Thus, as the maiden stains her fingers with the juice of henna, we have not a warrior whose spear-point is not stained with an enemy's blood.

"The lances borne by the children of Taghlib are of fine Indian shafts; the knots are ash grey; they are prepared at Khatt Hadjar, and surmounted with blue iron.

"When they bring them to the waters, (or place for putting in water,) the iron is white; it is red when taken away.\*

"Why has not Heaven fallen, to crush all it covers? Why has not Earth opened, nor dissolved like a cloud?"

"The curse of God fall on those who shall essay to restore peace between Bakr and Taghlib while the sun rolls his course."

#### *Song of Menace.*

"I had passed a long night at Anamayn, watching the course of the Stars, and urging by my impatience their slow descent.

\* Les fers de lance sont bleuâtres à l'état loyal et marchand: émoulus, ils sont blancs: à la guerre ils deviennent rouges.

" For how could I taste a night's repose while the blood of a son of Wail claims the blood of another son of Wail ?

" Tiharnah was long the common sojourn of the tribes sprung from Maad. They came there to winter in peace.

" But the Children of one Father have drenched each other with a bitter draught. The strong slays the feeble now in the plains of Tihâmab !

" ..... Day comes at length, and we early hail the Banou-Loudjayn, with blows that never fall on the head without leaving it indented at least.

" They durst not come down to the field, and mate themselves with us, body to body ; but we went down. He is a warrior who dares come down to the field.

" They made their bow-strings vibrate from afar : but we cast ourselves upon them, as vigorous stallions fall upon their rivals.

" When they had slain their master Koulayb in an access of frenzy, they said : All is done ; we shall not know a master again.

" They have lied, by all that is Holy and Profane ! They have lied ! And we will prove it, by wresting from their most secret retreats their ornaments spotted with *henna* :

" Shedding such fear on their souls, that the embryo shall die in the womb : steeping with their blood our spears and our horses."

The following is characteristic of Arabian desert manners :

" Among the Bakride Princes who had refused their aid to the Banou-Schayban, was Al Harith, the son of Oubad, one of the most illustrious chiefs of the tribe of Bakr. So far was he from making war against the Taghlibides, and so strongly was he impressed with the justice of their cause, that when Moulhalhil (in revenge for his brother Koulayb) had slain his son Boudjayr, on receiving the intelligence of his child's disaster, Al Harith exclaimed : ' Blest be the death which restores peace between the two daughters (tribes) of *Wail* ! ' He had imagined that Moulhalhil, taking into consideration the nobility of his race, would regard Koulayb as sufficiently avenged by the death of Boudjayr, whose blood, in the opinion of the Bakride prince, was worth that of the most powerful king of all the Arabias. But when he learned that Moulhalhil had disdained this new victim, inasmuch as, on slaying the young prince he had said to him, ' Thy death may atone but for the sandal-ties of Koulayb—Koulayb is yet to be avenged : ' when this was reported to Harith, he became furious. He mounted his mare Anaâmah (the ostrich), placed himself at the head of all the forces of Bakr, and, falling on the Taghlibides, made such carnage, and threw them into such total disorder, that Moulhalhil himself sought to fly ; but he was made prisoner by Harith, who knew him only by his reputation. The hero-poet's name was in reality Adiyy ; Moulhalhil was only his *sobriquet*. Harith, in ignorance, said to his prisoner, ' Show me Adiyy, son of Rabiab, and I release thee.'—Adiyy answered, ' Thou engagest then to release me if I show thee Adiyy ?—' Yes : ' Well then, I am

he ;' and Harith released him accordingly, after subjecting him to the tonsure, to render it unquestionable that he had been his prisoner."

We quote elsewhere the author's interesting note on the Arabs of *Yeman*, or *Joctanides*, and the self-confessed inferiority of the Desert tribes, to those *Arabs par excellence* ; and also the singular doubt he throws from their own traditions on the claim of the *Moustaribe* (Arabs) to their descent from Ishmael : a doubt that must make a considerable impression on the degree of confidence to be placed henceforth in the genealogies of the Children of the Desert. We must pass on to some extracts from the narratives themselves, and to the *Lamiyat-al-arab*, or poem of *Schanfara*, which has only been given in a mutilated and very incorrect state by the author to his friends hitherto : but which he has now taken the first opportunity of presenting in its proper form to the public. We take of necessity one of the shortest of the Exploits, as best adapted to our pages ; and this is

· *The Exploit of Rahrahan.*

" When Khalid was killed, Harith, the son of Zhalim, took flight, and, after ranging the world, came to seek refuge with Mabad, the son of Zourárah, of the tribe of the Banou-Tamim. At this time Zourárah no longer existed. Mabad having promised his aid to the fugitive, the Banou-Tamim said to him, ' What art thou thinking of, to receive this unlucky one ? Wouldst thou draw on us the wrath of Aawad ? ' The Tamimides therefore separated their cause from that of Mabad, excepting, however, the Banou-Mawiyah and the Banou-Abdallah ibn-Darim, who both protected the stranger.

" Laqit, another son of Zourárah, composed on this occasion a satiric poem, passing in review the numerous families of the tribe of Tamim, and castigating each in turn. The families of Adiyy and Taym were the worst treated by him.

" ' Nothing more pitiful than the children of Adiyy and Taym, in the hour of danger. It is in vain to seek for champions amongst them.

" ' When their lances gleam above the horizon, with Zayd at their head, the enemy are at ease : they have long known that the lances of Zayd do no harm.'

" Ahwass, in the mean time, the son of Djafar, the son of Kilab, and the brother of the assassinated Khalid, being informed of the place where Harith, the son of Zhalim, had sought refuge, came to attack Mabad, his protector. The encounter took place at Rahrahan, not far from Oukazh, in the Hegiaz. The Tamimides were put to flight, and Mabad, the son of Zourarah, taken prisoner. He was captured by two brothers, Amir and Toufayl, sons of Malik, the son of Djafar, the son of Kilab.

" Laqit, the son of Zourárah, came to them to treat for the ransom of his brother, and said: ' I have two hundred camels, take these.' The sons of Malik answered him: ' Thou art the chief of Ilyás, and Mabad, thy brother, is chief of Moudar. We will take for him only the ran-

som of a king.' But Laqit would not hear of any increase on the offer. 'Our father ordered us,' he said, 'and it was one of his dying injunctions, not to add one single camel to the two hundred, which have long formed the amount of our ransoms.' Then Mabad said to Laqit, 'Desert me not, oh Laqit! for I swear by God, if thou leavest me to-day in their hands, thou wilt never see me again.' 'Have patience, my brother,' said Laqit, 'for, if I give way, what will become of our father's injunction, which said—Leave not yourselves to be eaten up by the Arabs, and raise not the sum of your ransoms above the price usually given for a warrior of your people, lest you be attacked by the ravening wolves that infest the country, and who will be attracted by the feast that you will thus offer them.' And Laqit went away without ransoming Mabad.

"The conquerors, it is said by some, interdicted him from water, and treated him so ill that he died of inanition; but, according to others, Mabad refused to eat or drink, and perished voluntarily of thirst and hunger. Amir, the son of Toufayl, alludes to this fact in the following verse.

" 'We have quenched our long resentment against the tribes of the Absides, and amongst us has Mabad died for want of food.' "

The poet Djarir has celebrated the day of Rahrahan in the following verses.

" And in the night that succeeded the affair of Rahrahan, what disorder was yours, oh children of Tamim! You thought no longer of the spoils.

" You abandoned Mabad to his chains . . . . and which of your brethren in captivity have you not abandoned?"

Another poet has said,

" At Rahrahan, the day after Mabad was made prisoner, the conquerors espoused your daughters, oh children of Tamim!—without having first paid the dowry to their fathers."

We must take another instance which, in M. Fresnel's opinion, "displays the Bedouin character in all its *purity*." We doubt if this word should not be atrocity.

Rabi, the son of Ziyad, of the tribe of Abs, had had a difference with Qays, the son of Zouhayr, and therefore his own sovereign, respecting a coat of mail claimed by both. Rabi had carried it off, but had fled to the Banou Fazarah, part of the tribe of Dhoubyan, for protection. The king, on the other hand, revenged himself by taking the milch-camels belonging to Rabi, and exchanging them for arms at Mekka. Rabi and his brothers were distinguished for their worth, and every where named Kamalah, or, the Perfect.

Hostilities having commenced meantime between the tribes of Abs and Dhoubyan, by the death of Malik, the son of Houdhayfah, of the family of Fazarah, the Absides hastened to pay the price of blood to the parents of the slain, and gave them one

hundred camels, which were accepted by Houdhayfab. But subsequently the latter, still nourishing resentment, surprised and killed Malik, the son of Zouhayr, and brother of Qays. Then the Absides said to the Fazarides : " Malik, the son of Zouhayr, goes for Malik, the son of Houdhayfah : so return us our camels :" —but this Houdhayfah refused.

At the return of the party forming the ambuscade by which Malik the son of Zouhayr had been slain, in the presence of Rabi the Fazarides who had stayed at home, addressed those who had gone on the expedition.—" What have you done," said they, " with your wild ass ?—" " We have not neglected it," they answered. Rabi, who was under the protection of the enemies of his tribe, but ignorant of the recent murder, inquired the sense of these mysterious words : " It means that we have killed Malik, the son of Zouhayr." " Ye have committed infamy then," cried Rabi ; " ye had accepted a composition ; ye were satisfied therewith, and called it sufficient ; yet afterwards —— But ye are faithless." " Wert thou not our guest," replied the Fazarides, " we should have slain thee at the first word : thou hast still three\* nights to pass in our tents." Rabi fled, and the Fazarides pursued him, but in vain, and the fugitive, rejoining his tribe, made his peace with his king.

The value of these records, however small, may be more justly appreciated by calling to mind, that of such materials in the infancy of nations throughout the East were composed the histories on which alone we must rely. They serve to illustrate the former earliest literary state, not of their proper country only, but also of Persia, Tatary, and China. The poems or songs from which Ferdousi compiled a large portion of his Book of Kings in the first (see F. Q. R. No. XXXV. p. 119 to 150) ; the traditional records that were suffered to perish in the second, after the great Persian poet had achieved his immortal work (No. XXXVIII. pp. 403, 404) ; and those fragments of former times which were collected by the care of the sage Confucius in the last, and to which we have elsewhere slightly referred already, and may probably turn for closer examination hereafter, render it, therefore, almost certain that the earliest history of eastern nations in general is not to be found in their extant historical works. Amongst other points of resemblance that we formerly noticed (No. XXXV. pp. 125, 127, and No. XXXVII. p. 201, &c.), we may now remark also the singular fact, that the Arab, like the Brahmin, while he appears to have cultivated his language, and the general sciences, with no ordinary degree of care, has entirely overlooked the ne-

\* This was the shortest period that could be granted to a protégé.

cessity of separating truth from falsehood, and preserving a continuous narrative of the acts of his ancestors—a fact so strange that it is certainly calculated to awaken our strongest suspicions.

Major Price, in his elaborate *Essay on the early History of Arabia*, has dwelt at some length on the paucity of his materials, and declares, that after all his labours “the opinion which the author had early formed that, anterior to the age of Mahommed, the Arabs possessed, in fact, no authentic records of their history, remains, however, unaltered ; and, considering that so distinguished an orientalist as Dr. Pococke could advance no further, the author must abide in the belief that, without launching into the ocean of conjecture, into the mazes of an ever-varying speculation, all attempt to produce a regular *History of Arabia*, antecedent to that period, will, if the truth be acknowledged, ever terminate in a *specimen*, or an *essay*.” At the conclusion, too, of the volume he explicitly states,—

“ In the preceding essay it has been our endeavour through the mazes of traditional, and we fear in too many instances, of fabulous narrative, to discover, if possible, some of the traces of rational history ; and it is to be regretted, although not by any means an extraordinary circumstance, that, at a period so little remote from our own times, we should have been compelled, in our search after truth, to occupy the attention of the reader so extensively with the fictions of romance. Yet, should the success of our researches neither correspond with our early hopes nor with the just claims of an enlightened age, it will be a still more discouraging reflection to find, that the failure is ascribed to want of diligence on the part of the writer, rather than to the total absence of competent materials. To seek for more sober or better authenticated information among oriental historians would, nevertheless, as far as it has been our lot to discover, be a hopeless and unavailing pursuit, the general professed belief in the East being in close coincidence with the abstract above compiled. Neither is it understood that, previous to the time of Mahommed, during what his followers have contemptuously designated the period of ignorance, folly, or absurdity, the Arabians were in possession of any authentic records of their history, unless such were contained in the poetical effusions, the Moallekaut, suspensilia, or prize poems, suspended in the temple of Mekkah. And if, again, we recur to the collateral notices, scattered at distant intervals through the pages of Greek and Roman story, little more is to be gathered than occasional testimonies to the lofty and intractable spirit, the inextinguishable love of independence, which in all ages characterized the Arab race, and which have doubtless contributed in a great degree to preserve to the genuine Arabian, to this day, more of the stamp of antiquity than is to be found in any other nation upon earth.”—pp. 247, 248.

His assertions are amply illustrated by the single fact, that except the monstrous and extravagant fictions of the *Rouzut-ul-*

Suffa, and the Kholausset-ul-Akhbar, themselves obviously taken in great measure from misunderstood foreign accounts and traditions, the bulk of his work is sustained by the Tarikh Tabiri, a Persian chronicler, and is in itself less a history of Arabia than of Persia, in which incidental notices of the former country are occasionally given as connected with the existence of the latter.

Of their boasted antiquity the Arabs know absolutely nothing beyond what they have borrowed and disfigured from extraneous sources. They have little, Tabiri nothing whatever, to fill the space between Ishmael and Moses, whom they consider to have undertaken his divine mission in the 60th year of the reign of Menuchehr, king of Persia : and another void intervenes from the time of the great Hebrew legislator to the magnificent period of Solomon, king of Israel and Ginnistan ! When Arabian history really commences, it is in great measure confined to Irak-Arabi, colonized by their countrymen not long after the reign of Alexander ; and long and idle tales of impossible achievements occupy, even then, the place of legitimate history, down nearly to the birth of Mahomed. It is no way to be wondered at, therefore, that they boast an unconquered freedom, since they have no means of preserving the records of their conquerors ; nor that they should have entirely lost all traces of the victorious expedition of Ælius Gallus, the Roman prefect of Egypt, so late as the time of Caligula, into Yemen. The conquest of that country by the Abyssinian kings, about A.D. 500, as given in the Kholausset-ul-Akhbar, is sufficient, however, to refute their boast of freedom, even without knowing, as we do from other sources, how entirely they were at the mercy of any enemy that chose, in any age, to overrun a country divided into tribes continually warring with each other, but never uniting long against a hostile force ; and whose fiercest battles scarcely deserve the name of skirmishes, as they fled at the loss of two or three men of their number ; not, like the Parthians, to return for deeper vengeance.

We may, however, afford a few lines to their reputed origin and history.

The patriarch Eber, grandson of Shem, and generally considered to be the same as the prophet Houd, was the father of Yoktan, Joctan, or Kahtan, as by a slight transposition his name is commonly pronounced. Yarrab, or Arab, (for it is but the guttural *a*), was the son of Kahtan, and the inventor, as already stated, of the language. He is the progenitor of the Arabs of Yemen, or the Happy Arabia, whose colonies or tribes occupied Bahrain on the Persian Gulf, Nedjid, Yamama, and Yathreb or Medina (by pre-eminence *the City*), and to the borders of Hegiaz. Abdul-Shems, the Slave, or worshipper, of the Sun, was

the son of Yarrab, and possessed the sovereign authority over Yemen. He left three children; Kahlaun, who succeeded him, and became the parent of the Beni-Lakhim and the Ghassan races; Mezza, whom Price considers, with great probability we think, to have been Madhaj, the grandson, not the son; and Hamyar, from whom are descended the Hamyarites or Homerites, so celebrated in Assyrian history, and who ruled over Yemen to the time of Islamism. The 21st in descent from Hamyar was Harith, surnamed Al Raysh, who united the different tribes under his rule, and first assumed the well-known appellation of Tobbah. With a slight notice of a few of his descendants, the Arabian author carries us down to the time of Balkis, the Queen of Sheba in the days of Solomon,—found by the lapwing searching for water.

Before the time of Mahomet the Arabs were divided into two nations: one claiming their descent from the Kahtan aforesaid; the second holding generally the central and western parts of the country, the Hegiaz and Tihainah. These are the proper wanderers of the Desert, whose traditions M. Fresnel is now examining: but they themselves yield the precedence unquestionably to the Arabs of Yemen and of the race of Kahtan. These last are confessed by their brethren to be the Arabs of Arabs, while they themselves are but descendants of Ishmael, and only Moustaribes; deriving this humbler appellation from their being engrafted on the original race by the marriage of one of its daughters to their own progenitor Ishmael, son of Abraham. Before the 20th ancestor of Mahomed, the most enlightened of the nation confess the questionable nature of their historical genealogies of Mecca,—that mount up to Maad, and, by a single step, from him to *his father Adam*. The name of Ishmael, indeed, seems to have been little known to them, and but by indirect intercourse with the Jewish tribes, till the appearance of the Prophet in the tribe of the Koreishites, who reckoned only twenty generations between him and Adam! Mahomed, in his extracts from the Hebrew Scriptures, raised to its present importance the name of Ishmael, the wild Bedouins of the Desert having till then been contented to distinguish themselves by the appellation of the Sons of Maad, the son of Adam; while their superior brethren claimed, as we have seen, their descent from Kahtan. Such is the vaunted precision of Arabian antiquity.

The details that foiled Price, Pococke, and others, in their researches after history, are in truth but idle narrations of treachery, cruelty, coarseness, and vice; while the tone of exaggeration they indulge in may be judged from the circumstance, that the rose-leaf of the Sybarite is swelled into the monstrosity of having

absolutely torn and drawn streams of blood from the side of a princess, who had lived only on the marrow of calves and lambs, baked to consistence with butter and honey; and on ambergris, or other aromatics, for bread.

The singular facts narrated by Mr. Lane, in his admirable work on modern Egypt, regarding the magicians, corroborated, as they seem to be, by the extraordinary details given lately in a justly popular journal, and which equal, if they do not exceed, the incredible exploits of Indian jugglers,\* attested by so many witnesses of unquestionable veracity, induce us to add, from Major Price's volume, the following account of the Kauhens:—

"The Kauhens mentioned here are described as a class of men, of whom, at this period, many were to be found both in Arabia and Syria, professing to give information on things unseen, not yet in existence, or to come to pass at some future period; to discover thefts, to describe the circumstances of an untold dream, and to furnish the interpretation: in short, without any kind of previous explanation, to give to individuals in all the occurrences of life, a satisfactory reply to every inquiry. In Arabia, these soothsayers bore the name of Kauhenan, but the Oustauds, or masters, in this occult profession, at the period under consideration, were two persons of the name of Shekk and Setteiah, to whom all in Arabia looked up for instruction in the mysteries of the art.

"Having brought these men to his presence, Rebbeiah called upon Setteiah first of all, separately, to explain to him the circumstances of the dream which had occasioned so much uneasiness; and the sorcerer described to him, with little hesitation, that what he had seen was a thick darkness, from the bosom of which there issued a mighty flame of fire, which cleaving to the earth, and reducing it into burning cinders, consumed all the inhabitants of Yemen. Acknowledging the precision with which the circumstances of his dream had been described to him, the prince now demanded that he might be furnished with the interpretation; and Setteiah proceeded to explain, that his country would be invaded by the monarch of Habbeshah, or Abyssinia, who would subjugate the inhabitants, subvert the Jewish religion, and transfer the sovereign power to the Abyssinians. In short, that these latter, a sable race, should subdue the country with fire and sword, and render themselves masters of Yemen. Rebbeiah then demanded if he were able to furnish any information as to the events which might follow; and the sorcerer added, that, at the expiration of a certain period, a person would then arise of the name of Seyf-ben Zi-ul-Yezzen, or Yazzan, who should wrest the power from the Abyssinians; but that he should also perish by a violent death, and a prophet would appear among the Arabs, by whom a code of laws would be established in Yemen, that should prevail to the end of time. On the day following, the other master-sorcerer, whose name was Shekk, or Shekka, appeared in the presence of Rebbeiah, and being also examined apart by that prince, furnished precisely the same replies,

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\* See Major Price's note to the marvels related in *Jehangire's Memoirs*.

without the slightest variation in point of fact and interpretation, as had been given by Setteiah."—pp. 194, 195.

This narrative from the *Tarikh Tabiri*, is confirmed on all material points by the veracious *Kholausset-ul-Akhbar*, which add the following particulars to the account of Setteiah:—

" His father's name was Mussâoud, and it is alleged that, with the exception of his scull and the ends of his fingers, he was entirely without bone in any part of his body. According to others his head was in his bosom ; that, when under the influence of rage, his body became distended, and it was then only that he was able to sit erect. He could not, however, at any time be made to stand upon his feet, but when it was necessary to move him from place to place, they folded him like a mantle ; and when there was occasion to consult him in the exercise of his mysterious profession, it was the practice to roll him backwards and forwards upon the floor, like a skin of milk, for cheese or butter, until the answer was obtained. From the account given by himself, Setteiah derived his supernatural knowledge from one of the Jinns, or Genii, who had surreptitiously overheard some of the communications vouchsafed by the Supreme Being to Moses, and who instructed the sorcerer in the disclosures which he was thus prepared to make to those who applied to him for information. It is further stated, that the life of this extraordinary individual extended to a period of 600 years."—pp. 196, 197.

The labours of the Baron de Sacy are not unknown to the generality of readers. We need therefore only refer to them in the case of Schanfara ; and our space reminds that we must draw towards a conclusion.

We must now therefore turn the reader's attention to Schanfara.

Schanfara was of the race of Azd (or Asd), and of the tribe of Iwas (Aws), the son of Houdir, the son of Hinw (Houn), the son of Azd. Amongst the verses he composed the following have become popular.

" Oummou-Amr was resolved upon going ; she is gone without bidding adieu to her neighbours.

" Oummou-Amr has left thee, wretched lover ! even whilst thy heart was a prey to desire. Farewell then to happiness !

" I am charmed with this maid, for her veil slips not aside as she walks ; and her head turns not to the right or to the left.

" Her eyes are bent upon earth, so that you would say that she is searching for something she has dropped in the path. If ever she ventures to address thee, be sure that modesty and shame will soon reduce her to silence."

The following are extracts from the particulars given of the hero-poet ; and the authority is thus stated,—

" I receive this history from Amr, the son of Abou-lala, the Haramite, who had it from Abou-Yaya-Mouaddib, and from Ahmad, the son of Abou 'lminhal, the Mouhallabide ; who had it from Mouarridj, who had it from Abou-Hischam Mouhammad Ibn-Hischam, the Namiride.

" Schanfara was of the tribe of Iwas, the son of Houdjr, the son of Hinw, the son of Azd, the son of Ghawth. In early youth he fell into the power of the men of the posterity of Schabâbâh, the son of Fahm, the son of Amr, the son of Qays-Aylân; and remained amongst them till the men of the posterity of Salâmân, the son of Moufridj, the son of Awf, the son of Maydaan, the son of Malik, the son of Azd, the son of Ghawth, having made prisoner a man of the tribe of Fahm, and of the family of Schabâbâh, the Schabâbides gave Schanfara to the Salamanides in exchange for the prisoner they had made.

" Schanfara was long amongst the Banou-Salaman, who treated him exactly as if he had been one of their children, when the daughter of the Salamanide who had brought him up grew angry one day with the youthful captive. Schanfara, deeming himself a child of the house, had said to her, ' My little sister, wash my head.' The young maid, who disdained him for a brother, was enraged at his freedom and struck him. Schanfara, indignant and mortified, sought the man who had received him from the Fahmides in exchange for their prisoner, and adjured him to speak the truth regarding his birth. ' Thou art,' he answered, ' of the family of Iwas, the son of Houdjr.' ' If so,' returned Schanfara, ' I will leave you no rest till I have killed one hundred men of your tribe for holding me in slavery.'

He composed the following verses on receiving the blow.

" Why, (since, alas ! what is done, is done,) why has the hand of the young maiden struck the cheek of the noble stranger who lived beneath the same roof? Noble, at least, on his father's side.

" Had Qacoûs seen my family by the side of his own, my ancestors with his, he would surely have abated of his pride.

" For I am sprung from one of the best stems of Houdjr; and my mother,—hadst thou known her, O Qacoûs!—my mother was the child of free parents."

Schanfara (the thick-lipped) was the offspring of a slave, either black or of mixed blood; and Fayrouz-abadiyy has inserted him in the catalogue of the poets called Aghribat Alarab, or, the ravens. The famous Antar, more properly Antarah, was, it may be remembered, of the same origin, the son of an Abyssinian slave, Zabibah. Schanfara quitted the tribe of Salaman for the Banou-Fahn of the tribe of Schabâbâh; and from their dwellings he was wont to issue accompanied by them, or alone, on his murderous expeditions. He was wont to address such verses as these to the Salamanides whom he assailed.

" I rest not contented until I have overwhelmed with my dust all that wear the Kiça or the Bourd\* in the tribe of Salaman.

" I will spend life, if needful, in chasing through the desert the noblest of the Salamanides; for I can open myself a path between Sard and Yarba."

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\* Military mantles.

He pursued his homicidal career, and the Banou-Salaman sought for revenge on the slayer in vain. He avoided the ambuscades of the sons of Ghamid, and was chased like a fallow-deer, but still without success.

“ Schanfara had slain ninety-nine of the tribe of Salaman, and but one was wanting to complete his vow, when three men laid an ambuscade in the way to Obaydah, through which he was to pass. These were Ouçayd, the son of Djabir, the Salamanide, and his nephew, with Hazim, the Taymide. Schanfara came at night to the place, and, perceiving some dark object without being able to distinguish, he sent an arrow at it, for such was his custom at night when travelling, if he saw anything afar that awakened suspicion. His arrow pierced the arm of Ouçayd’s nephew, entering from the wrist to the elbow, but the young man did not utter a breath. Schanfara exclaimed, ‘ If thou art anything, thou hast it: if thou art nothing, at least I have not failed of the mark. Hazim lay flat on his belly in a hollow of the path, watching with the corner of his eye a favourable moment to spring upon the enemy. Ouçayd now gave him the signal, saying, ‘ Hazim, draw! ’ but Schanfara hearing him, cried out, ‘ I will draw for all,’ and fell sabre in hand on Hazim, striking off two of his fingers. He, however, had leapt on his feet, threw himself on the assailant, and clasped him in both arms. Ouçayd’s nephew joined him; but Schanfara threw them both, and fell upon them. Ouçayd came up and disarmed the warrior, then, seizing one of the six legs that were struggling together on the ground, he asked, ‘ Whose is this? ’—‘ It is mine,’ answered Schanfara. ‘ Believe him not, uncle,’ cried the nephew of Ouçayd, ‘ it is my leg that thou holdest in thine hand.’

“ The adversaries of Schanfara, having mastered his person, took him to their tribe. ‘ Now, then,’ said they to the captive poet, ‘ recite us one of thy songs.’ ‘ Recitation,’ answered Schanfara, ‘ suits only with enjoyment.’ The reply has become a proverb.

“ They struck off one of his hands with a blow so violent, that it fell at a considerable distance, and quivered some time with a convulsive motion. He apostrophized it thus:—

“ ‘ Perish not by departing from me, oh hand, achieving a fatal task! live for ever in the remembrance of men! ’

“ ‘ From how many valleys has it not scared the doves! ’

“ ‘ Of how many fierce adversaries has it not scattered the bones! ’

“ Ouçayd, fitting an arrow to his bow, exclaimed, ‘ At thine eye,’ and pierced it accordingly. Schanfara calmly observed, ‘ Such were my deeds;’ for in assailing the Banou-Salaman he was himself wont to say ‘ At thine eye,’ and sent his arrow into it. They now determined to kill him. ‘ Where wilt thou be buried? ’ they asked. Of his answer the Arabs have retained but three verses.

“ ‘ Beware of interring, for you are forbidden to bury me; but rejoice, Oumm-Amir! ’\* I have good news for thee:—

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\* *Oumm-Amir*, the hyena, so called familiarly by the Arabs.

“ ‘ When they strike off my head, which contains the better part of me, they will leave the remainder exposed in the field of combat.

“ ‘ Covered with slaughters that have placed me under ban of the tribes, I look not here for a joyful existence during the length of night that must pass over me,’ (in the grave.)”

We have room only for the following extract from that ancient and singularly characteristic composition, the poem of Schansara, which is now for the first time correctly given.

“ Go, children of my mother, look for me no more! Another race must be mine, another brotherhood than yours. All awaits your departure. The moon burns in the heavens; your camels’ girths are bound:—Go, then, depart, and look for me no more!

“ Earth offers a retreat where the heart is shielded from sorrows, a refuge for him who shuns the evil-doer. Oh, by your lives! he who has discernment, who knows the path of the night to seek what he desires, or fly what he abhors, for him the earth ever is free and wide. There, in your absence, I have brethren still: the wolf of tireless speed; the smooth and glossy panther; the hyena bristling its hide. These are henceforth my companions: with them every secret rests undivulged; and the slayer fears not vengeance from the kindred of the slain. All those repel insult; all those are brave:—yet are they less brave than I, in encountering the shock of the foremost hostile steeds: where prey is the object I yield, however, to them, where the hungriest is ever the most eager. It is my generosity that seeks to rise above them, and that aspiration alone renders me their superior. Three faithful friends shall supply with me the place of men who cannot return good for good (service for service); and whose intercourse affords me no advantage, not even to beguile the time. These friends are, a fearless heart, a gleaming sabre, and a bow of the Nab wood, long, resounding, yellow, strong, and polished; garnished with rings to which the baldric is bound. When the arrow leaves its womb it groans aloud, like a mother bewailing the loss of her little ones.

“ I am not of those shepherds who dread thirst; who, fearing to quit the wells, pasture their flocks in places trodden down by feet, and where herbage is no longer green. Their camels’ colts are painful to behold, though the nipples of their dams are not chained.

“ I am not of those weak and dull husbands, who, constantly beside their wives, inform them of all that is done, and consult them on all to do:—nor am I of those ostrich-hearted who rise and sink, as if borne on the wings of some little bird:—nor of those idlers, the disgrace of their kindred, and fit only for grimaces of love:—they who perfume themselves evening and

morning, and paint their eye-lashes black:—nor of the indolent, who hide an evil behind a good; who can neither fight in war, nor show hospitality in peace; who bear no arms, and tremble at every menace.

“I am not of those timorous travellers whom darkness covers with alarm, when, wandering astray in the desert, its vast plain alone lies before them; without path or track, and without a place for shelter.

“When the horny sole of my feet strikes upon flints, it brings sparks of fire, and scatters them with noise.

“To the cries of hunger I respond by successive delays; I disdain and weary it, till at length I destroy it. I turn aside my thoughts and forget it—I swallow in necessity a lump of dry earth, rather than accept hospitality as a debt.

“I snatch but a mouthful, and set forth in the morning like the gaunt gray wolf, whom one solitude leads to another. He starts at daybreak, with hunger wrapt in his folding entrails, coursing against the wind, plunging through deepest hollows, and trotting in unceasing speed. \* \* \*

“The dark-plumaged *Qatas*\* arrive but to drink what I leave, though they speed all night on the wing to slake their thirst in the morning. We had set out together, led by the same want, or to reach the same well. The *qatas* with flagging wing are like runners whose speed is chained (or checked) by their flowing robes: while I, whose garment is set by my girdle, precede them without effort, as the head of their flock. \* \* \*

“Lean as I am, I choose my bed on the bare earth, and rejoice to spread on its surface the projecting vertebrae of my back. My pillow is this bony arm, whose protruding joints are like the *huckle-bones*† of the gambler, thrown upon the field. \* \* \*

“Do war and alarms complain of Schanfara’s absence? Whose victim shall I become? Who shall first strike the blow? If ye behold me, oh devouring cares! like the reptile of the sands exposed to the burning sun, with body uncovered and naked feet, yet learn ye that I retain patience: that I wear her as a cloak without losing my hyena-heart; and that fortitude serves me for sandals.

“How often on the cold night, when the hunter for warmth burns even his bow and arrows, do I take my course through darkness; cold, hunger, wrath, and terror my companions. Yes! I have made wives widows, and children orphans, and returned while the night was yet dark.

\* A bird proverbially swift.

† Our child’s game of *huckle-bones* is thus evidently of the greatest antiquity in Arabia.

"They say in the morning, 'our dogs growled last night—I thought, was it a wolf that prowled near, or a young hyena? But they growled only a moment, and slept again; till I asked, am I a *qata* or a hawk, waking at every sound? Yet now we see the fatal cause of that faint sound, and what can we think of the murderer? If a spirit (*jin*) came upon us by night, his visit has been fearful: if a man—but men cannot inflict such losses!'"

We repeat it: these historical illustrations are more ancient and valuable than even the *ROMANCE OF ANTAR* to the student of history and of antiquity.

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ART. IX.—*Manifiesto de las Razones que legitiman la Declaracion de Guerra contra el Gobierno del General D. Andres Santa-Cruz, titulado Presidente de la Confederacion Peru-Boliviana.* Buenos-Aires, imprenta del Estado. (Manifesto of the Causes that justify the Declaration of War against the Government of General Andres Santa-Cruz, entitled President of the Peru-Bolivian Republic.) Buenos Ayres, 1837.

It is not very long since that we presented to our readers some particulars of the actual condition of Bolivia, its rich internal productions; its capabilities of foreign commerce; its state of internal peace and advance towards prosperity; the establishment of institutions such as in all fixed and stable governments are deemed the basis of social happiness; its efforts for extension and increase of a European trade; its formation of a civil code, adapted to the exigencies of the population; the full amnesty granted to Spaniards; the security offered to them in common with the subjects of all other nations to settle in that territory; its honourable exemption from national debts and frauds; the opening of the ports; and, lastly, the union of that republic with the two distinct states of North and South Peru; a union not of government alone, but of interests also, which seemed to promise success to the labours of the hand that had been so actively employed for their national concord and prosperity.

It is painful to think that however carefully calculated the chances of human happiness, and however skilfully adapted the means for this great end; whatever the bases on which are founded arrangements, that to mortal wisdom appear to offer the most solid securities for stability and success, that still an inherent principle of nature, inexplicably entwining evil with good, introduces the canker into the very seed of the plant, to grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength; extending its influence in the

germinating bud, and infusing into the matured fruit itself that "amari aliquid," which ever lessens or disappoints the **hopes** of enjoyment and the care of the cultivator. The proof every moment springs up before our eyes, alike on the smallest as largest scale; in the toil or provision for individual objects or accumulations, as in the efforts of nations for improvement: from the cares of a Thelusson to secure boundless wealth for a descendant! to the reforms and revolutions that change, how vainly, the face of empires, all is effort, and all is fruitless, till **Hope itself** is acknowledged but as deferred **Disappointment**.

"Poor race of men! said the pitying Spirit,  
Dearly ye pay for your primal fall;  
Some drops of Eden ye still inherit,  
But the trail of the serpent is over them all."

Regarding, we must confess, the state of things in the portion of South America to which we have alluded with no ordinary degree of pleasurable anticipation; and viewing the union of the three provinces into a single government, forming the proper territory united under the ancient sceptre of the Incas; we were tempted to hope, from the results of their experience, a restoration of pristine wealth and felicity to their descendants of the present and future days. The sagacity that with them had included the richest districts under one sway, and was satisfied to confine their real dominion within those limits, at a time when the whole continent was open to them; together with the prosperity that attended such a course, till romance became reality, and even avarice was palled with treasure; all this pointed irresistibly to the conclusion, that the richest portion of that southern hemisphere, once more united under a wise government, would return to the height of its former elevation, though possibly in a different form of development; not by the amassing and hoarding of inconceivable riches in one single country, but, thanks to the extension and influence of commerce, by diffusing those riches through its channels to minister to the general wants of mankind, and principally through the medium of British trade.

The illusion, wherever it prevailed, has been painfully broken in upon by the political events of the last few months. The dissatisfactions, jealousies, and wars that have originated so recently in that quarter, bid fair to dissipate altogether the dreams of future expectation, or to defer them to so distant and indefinite a period as to be actually beyond the flight of **Hope**. We have looked, we confess, with anxiety for some real ground of dissension, some positive wrong that might be righted, that thus, by the removal of the cause, the consequences produced by it might be

obviated. Whatever is tangible may be approached, whatever is true may be shown ; facts can be dealt with, but fancies are tangents, that recede continually from the point of contact. Whether the statements in question belong to the former or the latter class it is our province here to examine : if the difficulties spring from positive injuries, these can and ought to be redressed : but if they originate in *jealousy* alone ; if the internal and external prosperity of one state excites the sense of an unfavourable contrast with its neighbour ; or if the natural wish of one government to enrich its subjects by legitimate means, such as opening to them the long sealed-up channels of public trade, be simply an accidental and unavoidable loss to the inhabitants of any former emporium of commerce ; though these may suffer, they can surely have no right to complain of their more fortunate or more enlightened rival ; still less to take up arms, that readiest resource of strength against weakness, of passion against reason, of injustice and oppression against legitimate rights.

A rule for our judgment is furnished in such cases by an authority to which none can demur, since "by their acts we shall know them ;" and as the flourishing condition of the Peru-Bolivian republic has furnished us with ground for the conclusion that its government is wise and moderate, so we must examine the conduct of its two antagonists, and first turn our attention to Chile.

It has often been stated in the European papers, that an expedition undertaken last July against the existing administration of Chile by Don Ramon Freire, a native of that country, and in exile at Lima, was the cause of the quarrel, inasmuch as it is alleged by the government of Chile, that the said expedition was a conjoint scheme of Generals Orbegoso and Santa Cruz. This statement has been frequently repeated also in the *Mercurio de Valparaiso* and the *Araucano*, the one a popular, the other a government paper, but not verified in either by any document whatever ; so that it rests solely on the assertion, that their information comes from good authority.

The Exposé of the Peruvian Government answers the charge simply. The exhaustion of the finances rendering economy inevitable, and the defeat of Salaverry rendering the maritime force unnecessary, General Orbegoso, the Peruvian president, determined to reduce the Marine. Accordingly, two vessels, the Monteagudo, and the brig Orbegoso, were advertised in a Lima newspaper, and chartered by a Don José Maria Quiroga on a trading voyage, the first to Guayaquil, and the second to Central America.

"The Orbegoso was a government merchantman, which had never been armed ; and with respect to the Monteagudo, the harbour-master

of Callao states in his report to the actual Minister of War and Marine, *that, the agreement of the chartering being concluded, he received orders to disarm her, and deposit her warlike stores in the arsenal at Callao, which was done, with the exception of a dozen old twelve-pounders, which had for a long time been kept in the hold as ballast, and which being unserviceable were allowed to remain there.*"—p. 5.

"It is also plainly asserted in the document just cited, *that their commanders deviated in nothing from the usual routine of maritime traders, nor gave any order, either written or verbal, which might raise his suspicion.* The Orbegoso sailed first, having on board General Freire and his associates."—p. 5.

"Freire did not make a secret of his intending to quit Peru. The Chilians, however, in corroboration of their charge against Generals Orbegoso and Santa Cruz, have asserted, *that Freire was openly furnished with men, arms, and ammunition, and that the men were paid before they left Callao.*"—p. 5.

"It is, however, a custom of very ancient date in Peru to give a month in advance to the crew, in presence of the harbour-master, a few days previous to the vessel leaving the port, in order that the men may furnish themselves with clothing and other necessaries. This and no more was done with the crews of the Orbegoso and Monteagudo, as is testified by the depositions of their commanders and mates, and by the just cited document of the harbour-master, which is a direct refutation of this charge as well as of the other; for, if we may give credence to an official statement, published, circulated among every class, and uncontradicted, we must suppose that if Freire had any warlike stores, they were put on board clandestinely, and under false pretences.\* At a time when the Republic was still convulsed with the shock it had received from internal enemies; when every branch of the administration was in the utmost disorder; when contrabanding was so barefacedly carried on that even barrels of flour were smuggled ashore by daylight, it cannot be surprising that Freire should have been able to furnish himself with men and warlike stores unknown to the government. Such things are possible in every country, and even under the best organized governments. The infant, Don Carlos, three years ago, eluded the authorities of England, to wage a most destructive war in Spain; and yet who would for a moment suppose that this had been planned or countenanced by the English government? Ambition, when blended with the wish of vengeance, emboldens man to undertake the most arduous and difficult enterprises; and Freire could not have been free from either. He had once enjoyed the respect of his country, and been elevated to the highest degree of republican dignity. One of those political convulsions, so frequent in all the states of South America after the overthrow of Spanish domination in that hemisphere, not only deprived him of the presidency of the State, but also compelled him to seek an asylum in a neighbouring Republic. Is it then strange that the ex-

\* We correct, at times, the occasional slips of language by an evidently foreign pen. We have also, throughout, preserved, omitted, or introduced italics, as seemed best to our judgment.

president should have kept upon his country an invidious eye, and in his mind the desire of avenging the wrongs he had received? But we are very doubtful with respect to the equipment taken out by Freire; for in a letter of one of his associates, written from San Carlos, (the fort at Chiloé) *the want of warlike stores is complained of*, the writer saying, *that he does not reckon upon any other arms than 400 muskets found in that fort.* It will also be seen in the sequel of this narrative, that if Freire assumed a hostile position on Chilian territory, it was not through the forces he had taken with him, but through the cowardice and demoralization of the government adherents, and that when these withdrew their support he could not keep his ground."—pp. 5, 6.

The case of Saldanha and the Portuguese emigrant expedition from England against Terceira, under the Wellington administration, is still more a case in point.

During the voyage, it seems, that the Monteagudo's crew rose against Freire's partizans on board, and proceeded to Valparaiso to deliver them up as prisoners. "The Orbegoso, ignorant of what had happened, continued her route, and arrived first at Chiloé, the destined point of the expedition."

"The authorities of that place *surrendered without offering the slightest resistance, and four companies of militia, with some troops of the line*, (we quote from the Chilian papers,) *joined Freire*, who immediately took possession of the fort. The Monteagudo, having left the prisoners at Valparaiso, and received some reinforcement from government, proceeded to Chiloé, where she arrived on the 28th of August. Freire, supposing her to be still under the command of Puga, sent an order to that officer to land with his men and repair to the fort. This was executed by twenty-six of the government men, who, being thus admitted into the fort, retook it. The party which had joined Freire on his landing, being informed of this, returned to the legitimate authorities; and Freire, feeling himself incapable of keeping his ground, took refuge, with two of his associates, on board a French whaler, where they were arrested. Thence they were taken on board the Monteagudo and conveyed to Santiago, where their trial took place, first in a court of justice, from which they received sentence of death, and afterwards in a court-martial, where that sentence was commuted to ten years' confinement in the island of Juan Fernandez."—p. 7.

"This is the story of the expedition of Freire, such as it is given by the Chilians. From the moment the Orbegoso left Callao to the moment of the last sentence being passed against Freire, we have quoted the statements of the very party interested in sustaining the charges preferred against the government of Peru; and it is upon *the same authority* we now state, that neither from the depositions of Freire and his associates, nor from those of the other individuals, either concerned in the expedition or brought to the court as witnesses, does the supposed culpability of the Peruvian government appear, even in the most distant light. There is not one statement, not one circumstance, nay, not even one word in corroboration of it!"—p. 8.

This appears conclusive. We now come to the next charge :

" It was said, and is still repeated, by the accusers, that, when the plans of Freire transpired, *measures were taken to prevent the sailing of La Flor del Mar with communications to the Chilian government.* This is another misrepresentation."—p. 8.

" When General Moran, chief of the department of Lima, was apprized that the Monteagudo and Orbegoso were steering towards the south, and the plan of the Chilian exiles began to be suspected, he, without loss of time, informed the Chilian consul, as well as the authorities at Lima, of what had been communicated to him. With this motive the harbour-master was called to the capital ; and, to prevent the joining of any other ship to those that were already at sea, he was instructed to order that no vessel should leave the port until his return. His absence was from ten o'clock in the morning of the 8th of July to six in the evening ; consequently the detention complained of by the Chilians, and upon which they have put so unwarrantable a construction, was merely a delay of seven (eight) hours. But how the Chilians can have ventured to say that this was a measure to prevent the sailing of *La Flor del Mar*, we know not ; for it was not known that that vessel was to sail for Valparaiso. Her commander had cleared out for Guayaquil, and her *true destination was concealed from the authorities at Callao until the very moment she sailed, which was on the 8th of July, about two hours after the return of the harbour-master.*"—pp. 8, 9.

There is much reason in what follows :

" When we take this circumstance into consideration, and add to it the admission of the consul of Chile at Lima, that *he had suspected the machinations of the Chilian exiles, and heard that they were to embark in vessels belonging to the Peruvian government*, we cannot abstain from contending, that the duplicity of which the government of Chile accuses the Peruvian authorities is far more perceptible in the conduct of the Chilian consul ; nor can we help feeling that he is greatly to blame for the misunderstanding which has taken place between the two countries. First, because one of the principal charges of a diplomatic agent *being to see that nothing is done in the country where he resides against the interests of his own country*, it was his duty to watch the movements of the Chilian exiles ; secondly, because, had he apprized the Peruvian authorities of what he might have learned on the subject ; had he *openly* taken measures to ascertain the truth, and made known that a vessel (the *Flor del Mar*) was in readiness to convey to his government the result of his inquiries, Freire, even in the case of being supported by the President Orbegoso, would not have dared to carry his plans into execution, and if he had, then no one could dispute the right of Chile to demand redress and satisfaction."—pp. 9, 10.

As to the asserted understanding between Generals Freire and St. Cruz, it is stated by their opponents, that a letter from the latter to the former, wherein the alleged connivance of the former is made clear, is in the hands of a Chilian at Chile, but that it

is not published, *out of regard to American honour!* We consider matters somewhat differently in Europe, and should imagine that to make a public charge against a public man's character, is sufficiently assailing his honour, and that his adversaries need not be so delicate as to decline proving what they love to affirm: provided always they *have the proof*, as they say. But, though challenged by the Lima government,\* they have NOT PRODUCED IT. Eheu, jam satis!

From the ability confessedly shown by Santa Cruz, it may, we think, be fairly argued, that the mode of the pretended assistance to Freire, and his actual means, were not likely to be considered efficient, or any thing better than a waste of money, by the provident ruler of Bolivia; and since, as the *Exposé* affirms uncontradicted, no evidence was brought forward to connect him with the invasion upon the trial of Freire; and since the letter referred to has not been published by Chile to substantiate that charge, it bears, in ordinary reasoning, no weight whatever, unless against those who have made it. Freire, the ex-President of Chile, appears to have been the Murat of the western world, lost in an attempt to imitate Napoleon. So far as we can find, of proof there is none whatever that Santa Cruz was hostile to Chile; and even the expedition of Freire occurred, not under Santa Cruz, but during Orbegoso's administration of North Peru. But there is something very like positive proof of the hostility, on the other hand, of Chile to Santa Cruz; for, though no evidence can be adduced, still accusations are and have been made against him from that quarter, and Chile has declared her intention that Santa Cruz *no mande en el Peru*. Let us glance a moment at the farther acts of Chile.

That government sent a brig of war to Callao, which arrived a few days after Santa Cruz reached the capital. We shall merely remark to our readers, that it is a known principle of the human mind, when hostilely disposed towards any particular object, to have its attention awakened, and its suspicions excitable, by all that passes respecting it. And we affirm, therefore, that the following instance of official neglect could arise only from an absence of suspicion in the mind of Santa Cruz. In accordance, therefore, with the Peruvian writer's *Exposé*—

"We have all reason to believe that, when Santa Cruz arrived at Lima, the wrath of Chile was not suspected; for six days after (on the 21st), the Chilian brig of war, the *Achilles*, arrived at Callao, and was received, not only as the other vessels belonging to friendly nations, but amongst the Peruvian men-of-war, which lay dismantled and unguarded

\* In the *Eco del Protectorado*.

in that harbour. So little suspicion was at that time entertained of Chile's hostile intentions, that one of those vessels had only two men on board.

"After receiving the usual visit from the harbour-master, Guarrido, the commander of the Achilles went on shore with one of his officers, and passed great part of the day with the commander of the marine, with whom they dined, and parted in the evening in perfect good understanding. Another officer went to Lima, and had an interview with the *Chilian Consul*,\* Don Ventura Lavalle. The Vice-Consul at Callao passed the whole day on board the Achilles; and, in fact, the comers and the resident Chilians communicated with the freedom allowed to parties of whose amity no suspicion is entertained. Notwithstanding this, the commander of the Achilles, *during that night*, manned three of the dismantled Peruvian men-of-war, the Arequipena, the Santa Cruz, and the Peruviana, and made to sea with them." (!)—pp. 15, 16.

This, undoubtedly, is a novel mode of simply seeking redress, which is the reason assigned by the aggressors for this step; but if Chile was jealous of the growing trade of the United Republics, and felt sore that their commerce, which had, previous to the Union, selected her port of Valparaiso as the first point to touch at, should now be transferred entirely to their native free ports,—no serious crime, surely, for a government to take due care of its own subjects,—then we can understand the abstraction of the vessels in question; which, in *case of need*, in the hands of their proper government, would have sufficed to *defend* the *mercantile marine* of the Confederate Republic from any *friendly* interference of their neighbours. The manner, too, of the deed was as flagitious as the matter; the resident minister from Chile being implicated in it:—

"Next morning, when this act of open aggression was known at Callao and Lima, the greatest alarm spread through the people, lest other acts of hostility and depredation should be committed. Every class, and every individual, was seized with terror, at an event so daring and unexpected, and a thousand conjectures were immediately afloat. Amidst this agitation, it was propagated and ascertained that the *Chilian Consul*,\* after having been waited upon by the officer from the Achilles, as already mentioned, had himself repaired *clandestinely* to that vessel, taking in his company the son of the President of Chile, whom he left there on his return to Lima! The supposition, then, that some plot against the present administration had been formed, at the head of which was Don Ventura Lavalle, struck every mind; and the landing of Chilian forces, the pillage of warehouses, and, in fact, every sort of outrage, was fearfully expected. In this perplexity, the government despatched a messenger to Don Ventura Lavalle, intimating their wish of an interview. Lavalle answered, that in his capacity of diplo-

\* These italics are ours.

matic agent he could not comply with their wishes, but that government had the option to communicate with him either by writing or by means of a deputy. This was a captious reply, which increased the alarm of the government; and as Don Ventura Lavalle had been received by Salaverry, as Chargé-d'Affaires of Chile, and concluded a treaty with that rebel, the conjecture that he might be acting in concert with the disaffected to the actual administration became the more probable. In this emergency, the government saw no safer expedient than to secure the person of Don Ventura Lavalle."—pp. 16, 17.

We freely admit that the Chilian papers had good grounds here, apparently, for protesting against so unusual a step; but every reader must hesitate to determine whether it was really a flagrant violation of diplomatic immunities, till he has weighed the conduct of the party concerned as himself preserving or forfeiting these immunities, and heard the following arguments in defence of this Peruvian proceeding:—

"The objects for which a diplomatic agent is designed are, first, to preserve and strengthen relations of amity and good intelligence between his government and that where he resides; secondly, to see that their mutual conventions are observed; thirdly, to prevent any thing taking place in the country where he resides detrimental to the interests of his nation; fourthly, to protect such of his countrymen as require his protection. He is essentially a minister of peace, and the immunities allowed him are no more than the warrant of that security and peace for himself which the country expects from him. He comes there as an agent of amity and peaceable relations, and he enjoys the confidence of the country, because the country believes he can never act contrary to these purposes, and in reciprocity gives him such privileges as to secure his safety. But, should this agent at any time abuse the confidence of the country, he has no longer any claims upon it for the continuance of those exemptions, because, by foregoing the primary and most essential part of his charge, he has forfeited them."—pp. 17, 18.

This reasoning, we ourselves think, requires the support of the following facts in illustration of this particular case; since the term *abuse the confidence* is in itself too indefinite to allow an application of the argument in general:—

"Lavalle, when the arrest took place, was no longer either the agent of a friendly nation, or himself the minister of peace. His government had committed an outrage against that where he resided; an open insult, a theft, the forerunner of other insults and hostilities;—a deed, in fact, of the criminality of which Lavalle himself was so convinced, that, in his circular to the foreign agents, written on board the Achilles, he requests them to suspend their judgment upon it until the government of Chile should explain the motives. This act, then, had been perpetrated with his previous knowledge; he had communed and com-

bined with the offenders ; and he was pointed out by the unanimous voice of the people as the most culpable. The government, nevertheless, still reluctant to break the bond, requests of him an interview. He refuses it, because he knows that the object of this interview is to draw from him an explanation of his conduct ; and he refuses, under an insidious pretext, for the request had nothing incompatible with the dignity of diplomatic rank ; on the contrary, Lavalle, refusing to comply with it, has overlooked one of the first duties of his charge ; because, in the same way that governments cannot deny access to diplomatic agents, these are bound to make themselves accessible either personally or by writing ; and any government has, on this principle, an undoubted right to demand the presence of a diplomatic agent when this becomes expedient. We therefore contend that, under all these circumstances, the arrest does not participate of the character which the Chilians, as well as those unacquainted with the preceding incidents, charge it with, Lavalle having, by his connivance at the outrage perpetrated against the country, and by his subsequent conduct, forfeited his rights as a diplomatist.

“ But so willing was the government to forget Señor Lavalle’s trespasses, that no sooner was the non-existence of a plot ascertained than he was restored to liberty, and his arrest was less than a quarter of an hour.”—pp. 18, 19.

The Chilian minister wrote *the same day* to state *the order of his government to demand his passport*,—which looks like premeditated, preconcerted hostility,—and to beg that it might be sent that day, August 22, 1836 ; which was accordingly done, accompanied by the following note from the government of Lima :—

“ North Peruvian State, Protectoral Palace,  
“ Lima, August 22nd, 1836.

“ The undersigned, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has received the note of the Consul-General of Chile, dated this day, in which he informs H. E. of having received orders from the government of Chile to withdraw from Peru, and in consequence of which the consul-general requests to have his passport this very day.

“ The undersigned has been directed by H. E. the Protector to furnish the consul-general with his passport, and to state that, although the scandalous deed perpetrated at Callao last night by the Achilles authorizes H. E. to take the most prompt and severe measures of retaliation against a government which, by such an act of piracy, has become an outlaw in the rights of nations ; H. E., faithful to the principles of moderation he has adopted for the management of external affairs, will for the present abstain from any act of hostility against the Chilians resident in this state, or against the consul-general. But it is his wish that the consul-general should be made to understand, that the government over which H. E. presides, possesses all the means, as well as resolution and energy, to demand a satisfaction equal to the insult received, and to prevent the future violations of his territory ; and that, should

fresh insults be offered, or the Chilians resident in Peru attempt to disturb the quiet of the country, the most severe measures will be taken.

" Enclosing the passport to the consul-general, H. E. wishes him also to be apprized, that his quitting this territory must take place to-day without fail.

" The undersigned concludes, assuring Señor Lavalle of his respect, &c.  
(Signed) " Pío DE TRISTAN."

" At four o'clock p. m. of the same day, the few officers and men of the Arequipena were sent ashore in a lighter belonging to the Achilles, and the following note from Garrido, delivered to the minister of marine :—

" On board the Achilles, two miles to leeward of the Island of S. Lorenzo,—August 22nd, 1836.

" The inexplicable conduct of your government has put mine under the necessity of adopting, as means of defence, the measure of which you must have heard through other channels. It is the intention of the Chilian government to retain the vessels of which I have taken possession, as pledges of peace from the Peruvian government, and perhaps, with the intention of delivering them up again when sufficient securities of peace be otherwise given. Those individuals *captured* in the Arequipena, who *have not been willing to enlist themselves under the Chilian flag*, are allowed, to return to the service of your government, and the same consideration will be had with those on board the Santa Cruz, when that vessel joins us.

" I hope you will allow D. Ventura Lavalle, Chargé d'Affaires of Chile, with his goods, and the Chilians who choose to accompany him, to pass on board the Achilles. God bless you!

(Signed) " VICTORINO GARRIDO."

To this last note are attached the following pertinent remarks :—

" It will be observed, in the first line of this document, that Garrido gives, as the cause of his conduct, the *inexplicable* conduct of the Peruvian government. But how did they know it was inexplicable before they demanded any explanation? The Government of Peru had not been called upon by that of Chile to give any explanations, and the act we have just described was committed before any of the means by which civilized nations in our days seek to obtain redress had been resorted to; moreover, it was committed in direct contradiction to the address of the President of Chile to the assembly, in which it is declared, 'that until *irrefragable* proofs of the culpability of the Peruvian government were obtained, Chile would not proceed to any act of hostility.' We ask now, were these proofs found when the Achilles pillaged the port of Callao? Have they been obtained since? Where, and how?"—pp. 20, 21.

The proposed intervention of the British Consul, at the request of the British merchants, was acceded to; a convention was agreed to on board his Britannic Majesty's vessel the Talbot for

cessation of hostilities, till both governments could explain, 24 hours being allowed for the Peruvian President's signature, and 50 days for Chile. The Chilians, therefore, took off the captured vessels, and their Consul Lavalle relanded, to arrange his private affairs. The Peruvian answer of consent was obtained immediately, in the following note:—

“ Seeing no rational motives for engaging the Republics of Peru and Chile in a war that would be prejudicial without being decisive, the Government of Peru, being immutable in their peaceful views, and wishing to give every facility to such explanations as are necessary upon a subject of so much moment, I approve of this convention.”—p. 23.

On the 30th September, the Peruvian minister at Chile inquired whether the government meant to sanction the convention, and received an answer in the negative, based upon the following specimen of Chilian diplomatic argumentation:—

“ There having been no war, there can be no preliminary convention of peace; and the most clear proof of the existence of *peaceful relations* between the two countries is our having taken, in the way of pledges, the Peruvian men-of-war anchored at Callao. Such measures, far from being hostile, are reckoned amongst the *legitimate* means of reclaiming justice, *without having recourse to the extreme of hostilizing the nation that has given cause of suspicion.*”—p. 24.

By way of a commentary, we may refer to the *capturing* and *enlisting* of these *peaceful relations* when *there had been no war*; and to illustrate an argument which most persons will think required elucidation, “ four days after this (on the 16th) the Congress passed the following decree”:

“ The National Congress authorizes the President of the Republic to declare war against Peru, in case of that government refusing to make such adequate compensation for the *injuries* done to Chile, and to offer such conditions as may warrant the independence of this Republic. The President of Chile will make public to all nations the *just motives* which have obliged the Chilian people to adopt this extreme, after so many *sacrifices* made for the preservation of peace.”—p. 24.

The Chilians now determined upon sending a plenipotentiary to Peru, but this plenipotentiary was accompanied by a squadron of five sail, “ because it was not just to allow the *aggressing* government (i. e. Peru!) to augment and concentrate its naval forces under the shelter of friendly intercourse.” The Chileno squadron was therefore charged to *keep the ships of the different republics at a certain distance*, until negotiations should be concluded!

The propositions submitted by their plenipotentiary were six in number, viz.—1st, Satisfaction for the violence offered to Don Ventura Lavalle: 2nd, The independence of Bolivia and of the

Ecuador (i. e. the preservation of the political equilibrium of the Southern Republics): 3rd, A diminution of the naval forces of Peru: 4th, Commercial reciprocity, each country placing the other on the terms of the most favoured nation: 5th, The acknowledgment of the debt incurred by Peru against Chile, both during the war of the Independence, and on account of Freire's expedition: 6th, Mutual exemption for the Chilians in Peru, and the Peruvians in Chile, from all forced contributions under the name of loan, and from being compelled to serve in the army, in the militia, or in the navy.

The 4th and 6th articles are presumptive evidence that neither state could complain much of the other; and these, with the 1st, were open to discussion. Acceding to the 5th, as regards its second part, would have been publicly confessing what had been so publicly denied, and its introduction therefore looks like an intentional insult to bar farther negociation. But the 3d of these stipulations is clearly of a nature to preclude all arrangement, unless as the conquered receiving laws from the conqueror; and the 2d is even still more extravagantly ridiculous—a foreign state stipulating with her adversary for the independence of the latter, rendered nugatory by the very fact of that stipulation!

The Chileno squadron arrived off Callao the 31st of October, and the commander sent in notice of his intention to enter that port with a salute. Herrera, the governor, declined the double courtesy, and stated that none could land except the minister and his suite. To this "retort courteous" the Chileno admiral, Blanco, replies by the following note, which we look upon simply in the light of the "quip modest."

"Your answer has surprised me exceedingly. To deny the Chilian squadron *admission to the port of a friendly state*, and at the very time of its conveying a minister plenipotentiary, seems to me an act of hostility which I cannot account for, considering the *relations of friendship* (the old story again) which exist between Chile and Peru. You will please to tell me the *motive of this novelty*, the most strange indeed, inasmuch as the ports of Chile are open to all classes of Peruvian vessels,\* as well as to individuals, who enjoy in that country special hospitality and benevolence.

"Your answer will serve as a guide for my future resolutions, which, without this serious precedent, and according to my instructions, could only be *peaceful*, and designed to strengthen the relations of *amity* and *cordiality* between the two countries."—p. 28.

The answer was sent accordingly.

"I have had the honour of receiving your communication of this day,

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\* It might have been added, and however obtained.

in which you manifest great surprise at the squadron being denied admission into this port. This negative is but the consequence of the conduct of the Achilles on the 21st of last August, and of the non-ratification of the convention concluded on the 28th of the same month, and which had for its object the cessation of hostilities against Peru. It is surprising that Chile, instead of taking measures to enter into an adjustment of this question, which Peru has shown she desires, should send here a squadron, the presence of which can by no means be held a testimonial of peace and amity, or fail to alarm.

"Peru, Sir, wishes for peace, because it is under the shield of peace that the prosperity of nations grows. There is no sacrifice, excepting that of its honour, that this country will not make to obtain it; but in the meanwhile I must inform you, that unless I receive fresh instructions from my government, I shall not deviate from this line of conduct."—p. 29.

To this Blanco replies by requesting to be at once admitted, with his fleet, *as the forces of a friendly nation*; as a proof of which, he observes—

"The embargo (EMBARGO !) of the Peruvian vessels, besides being made according to the *most strict principles of justice*, was, as you well know, the necessary consequence of Peru having made use of its naval forces to destroy the liberty, and even the independence, of Chile, plunging it in all the horrors of a civil war."—p. 30.

To this very satisfactory statement the Peruvian governor somewhat drily replies, that—

"The instructions he has had with respect to the squadron under your command are not to allow it to come within cannon-shot of the port, because government, being the guardian of the national interests, must not give occasion to the repetition of acts like that which you term an embargo."—p. 33.

We need take but two extracts more from this correspondence, perhaps unique in the annals of diplomacy. The Peruvian government requiring a promise that the Chileno squadron, in retiring, as proposed, from the coasts of the North and South Peruvian States, *will not commit any act of hostility, capture, EMBARGO, or DETENTION*, (are these synonyms of peace?) *on the property of the said states and their subjects*: to this the Chilian diplomatist replies,—

"I am sorry it is not in my power to accede to this new request, because you must know that, although I am satisfied, nay certain, of the peaceful and sincere intentions of my government, I could not grant such a promise without their special orders and instructions."—p. 35.

The plenipotentiary then, at great length, assured the Peruvian General de Tristan, "that, his mission being unconcluded,

it is most probable that the squadron will return to the coast of Peru, and prevent the re-union and augmentation of the naval forces of that republic; that, in his note of the 3rd, he had not mentioned, directly or indirectly, the absolute departure of the squadron from the coast of Peru, but merely and indefinitely its retiring from Callao; that any pretensions of the government of Peru with respect to the squadron might be made the subject of a preliminary agreement after his landing, provided Peru should ensure to the squadron the retaining of its present advantageous position; and finally, that he should wish to ascertain if the minister, in employing the words *peaceful usages*, had excepted from their meaning the conveyance of communications to the squadron;" and withdrew from the coast.

We deem it absolutely unnecessary to add a word to these extracts, since never did facts speak more clearly for themselves of moderation on one side and presumptuous insolence on the other. It could only be a government confiding in its own strength, in the justice of its cause, and the reasonableness of its views, that would bear so much of provocation from a state that could inspire so little of serious alarm.

We need not touch upon the allusions to the conduct of the Chilian government at home, for this forms no part of our subject; and we now turn to the manifesto of Buenos Ayres against Santa Cruz.

We were not a little surprised at the grounds upon which, we found by the English newspapers, the government of Buenos Ayres bases its proceedings. We can discover, neither in the extracts they furnish, nor in the original document, anything beyond bare assertion, without attempt at argument or at proof. We give the material portions of the official declaration of war as they are given in the *Morning Herald* of August 23, 1837.

"The government charged with the foreign affairs of the republic, in the name and on behalf of the Argentine confederation, considering,

"That the occupation of Peru by a Bolivian army is not founded on any right, except that of an illegal, null, and criminal treaty, stipulated and signed by a Peruvian general, without power, and without authority, to deliver up his country to a foreigner;

"That General Santa Cruz has, with the force under his command, dilacerated Peru, and arrogated to himself an absolute power, sanctioned by diminutive and incompetent assemblies;

"That this scandalous proceeding attacks the principle of popular sovereignty, which all the republics of South America recognize as the basis of their institutions;

"That the intervention of General Santa Cruz to change the political order of Peru is a criminal aggression against the liberty and independ-

ence of the American states, and a notorious infringement of the law of nations;

“That the concentration in his person of an authority for life, despotic and unlimited over Peru and Bolivia, with the power of naming his successor, tramples upon the rights of both states, and institutes a personal fief, which the acts of independence of both republics solemnly proscribe;

“That the extension of such power, by an abuse of force, overturns the conservative equilibrium of peace in the republics bordering on Peru and Bolivia:

“Considering that the cantoning troops of the army of General Santa Cruz on the northern frontier of the confederation, the anarchical expedition sent to Chile from the ports of Peru under the notorious protection of the agents of the said chief, and his simultaneous, constant and perfidious intrigues, to create insurrection in the Argentine republic, confirm the existence of a political plan to render the independence and the honour of the states bordering on Peru and Bolivia subordinate to the interests of the usurper;

“That the continual state of inquietude and uncertainty in which the Argentine republic is placed by the insidious conduct of the government of General Santa Cruz, causes all the evils of war without any of its advantages;

“And lastly, that the double and false policy of General Santa Cruz has rendered of no avail any guarantee depending on the faithful fulfilment of his promises:

“It declares—I. That in consequence of the numerous acts of hostility alluded to and proved, the Argentine confederation is at war with the government of General Santa Cruz and its adherents,” &c.

It will be sufficient to notice, that the two assertions of the fourth paragraph are entirely false, for the President, in his official answer to the proposition, accepted the authority *only till the formation of a federal congress*. This official document bears date August 17, 1836: and since it was public and official, and since it annuls the pretended violence to American liberty, it is singular that a state paper of such importance should not be alluded to in the public and official declaration of the government of Buenos Ayres! Why was it passed over? surely that government reads the *Eco*, the public organ of its rival.

We conceive the charge of assisting the expedition of Freire against Chile to have been amply refuted, since the documents to establish it are not forthcoming when challenged—and we cannot assume as fact that which does not appear to have any existence. But this affects Chile, not Buenos Ayres.

The intrigues, inquietude, and uncertainty alluded to, seem not so important as to require specification in the very document which, nevertheless, would assign them as sufficient causes of war! The original Manifesto, which serves as a running com-

mentary on the Declaration of War, does indeed state these particulars, and complains that the Peruvian President gave no answer to the repeated complaints of Buenos Ayres on this head. Now let us observe, that Bolivia formed at the time of the declaration of independence in 1814 a part of the state of Buenos Ayres; that, in a country of such vast extent, the capital being 500 leagues from this portion of the state, the petty towns had their mutual rivalries and dissensions for want of an effective supreme control—as has been the case with every nation in every age under anything like similar circumstances: that at the time of the separation of Bolivia from Buenos Ayres these quarrels existed, and were probably aggravated on both sides by the distinction of nationality which then took place—that the complaints were mutual—Salta, Tucuman, Rioga, &c. all independent, but all confederated in the republic of Buenos Ayres, had such dissensions, and have them still, even with their own nominal chiefs; for one party are called Unitarians, from their insisting on the necessity of amalgamation of all these petty powers into a Central State, and their opponents have banished the leaders. Jujui, the frontier town of Bolivia, was, previous to 1825, in the precise category of the towns already named. Complaints of these dissensions have been persevered in by Buenos Ayres, and the animosity originating in them is transferred from the petty districts to the two governments; but the charge of not answering these complaints is opposed by the public and notorious fact, that General Armasa, after his unsuccessful mission to Brazil about two years since, proceeded from thence as chargé-d'affaires to Buenos Ayres, for the express purpose of arranging these differences; but the government of Buenos Ayres absolutely refused to receive the negotiator, on the strange pretext that his credentials were addressed to the government of Buenos Ayres, without the specific addition of “and charged with the foreign affairs of the Federation.” This was a singular objection for a government desirous of peace to make as an obstacle to all arrangement, especially as the existence of that federation had never been questioned by the Bolivians. Good-will (says the Scotch proverb) never yet stopped at the door-stone. Yet the government of Buenos Ayres stopped not only the negotiation, but the negotiator also *in limine*, for they would not let him advance, and they refused him passports to return.

With this manifestation of their real feelings before us, we are the less tempted to give weight to the additional charge of the emigrant Unitarians in Bolivia being encouraged to scheme against their own government. The assertion is easy, but here again unfortunately *the proofs are entirely wanting*.

For the remaining articles quoted above (or omitted, as they

converge to the same point), it may be fairly asked, if the Peruvians of the north and the south in their separate congresses are not competent to decide upon a dictator for themselves, how comes this right in the hands of Buenos Ayres? especially since they who did not (as it would appear from the line of argument followed by the declaration before us), they who did not possess it, i. e. the two nations themselves, could not transfer it to that foreign state. The representatives of a nation, chosen by the nation, may surely be considered to represent the nation that chose them, better at least than a foreign power, which, so far as it appears, was never applied to in the matter. But perhaps in Buenos Ayres the principle may be different, and the representatives there have nothing to do with the nation, and possess no weight in the political system. We are led to this conclusion by observing that the declaration of war against Bolivia and Peru is simply the act of the foreign minister of Buenos Ayres, the governor of a *single* province; and that the representatives of the nation have not even been asked to pronounce an opinion, still less to authorize this *ultima ratio Regum!* The "concentration of authority so *despotic* and *unlimited* in the person" of Santa Cruz, however dreadful, has as yet not gone to such lengths of *unlimited despotism* as this one proceeding of a minister so jealous for the honour of the separate provinces of his government, as to bar the door against pacification because they were not specified in the form of credentials.

And yet, if Bolivia chose to render her president dictator for life—if South Peru and North Peru severally elected him—if all, or either of these three states, chose even to make him their sovereign—was it competent for Buenos Ayres to interfere? and by what right?

When we notice that Peru, since the administration of Santa Cruz, for the first time exhibited both the power and the inclination to pay a portion of her national debt, we are at some loss to understand what is meant by the *dilaceration* of Peru. Peace, we believe, is the nurse of a nation's wealth; peace has been preserved unbroken in Peru during the interval above mentioned. Now, would the foreign minister of Buenos Ayres prefer for Peru what he seems to desire for his own country in preference to it, viz. the *advantages of a war?*

One of these advantages has been already for Peru the necessity of withholding the first instalment from her creditors, to meet the expenses and the *advantages of war*. Yet we do not find the English holders of Peruvian bonds greatly benefited by these advantages, nor particularly grateful to Chile and Buenos Ayres, for forcing these advantages upon them in lieu of their money. The gain, we suspect, of piracy and plunder, such as war has

bestowed upon certain portions of the New World, however advantageous to some individuals, have not been so much so to nations as generally to induce their desiring its recurrence. Bloodshed, anarchy, discredit, and debt have been the only results of it for them, and these *advantages* are scarcely worth what they cost to attain.

We find it affirmed that the other Republics are siding, or expected to side, with Buenos Ayres and Chile in the war. They have sadly disappointed this expectation then, for the Ecuador has offered its mediation for peace, which Peru accepted; and the two others have remained in perfect harmony with Peru, notwithstanding the "fearful despotism and unlimited ambition, the intriguing restlessness and faithless character, of the President;" and though the proximity of this confederation is even greater for tangible purposes than that of Buenos Ayres, or of Chile, they have not yet discovered the perils obvious to eyes at a greater distance. Is it that distance magnifies danger when seen from Chile or Buenos Ayres, *i. e.* through intervals of 400 and 500 leagues?

But let us ask, is not this assumption of right on the part of Chile and Buenos Ayres, to dictate who shall or shall not rule in a third free State, as well as indicating the precise degree of power, and the mode of administration to be permitted there, any thing but the worst principles of the Holy Alliance, without its grounds and excuses? Were Peru and Bolivia, like Spain and Naples, in a state of peace before, and of disturbance after the great political step they adopted, thus endangering, by their open example, the unbroken tranquillity of Buenos Ayres? Or, had its own form of government subsisted so long,\* or so entirely united all parties in tranquil enjoyment at home, that they should become, like the Median Deijoices, the universal arbiter, *per force*, from the blameless purity of their long previous existence? Let the assassination, tumult, and bloodshed that, according to the papers, have so often disturbed the peace of that country—let the depreciation of credit that has reduced their paper dollar to six-pence—let the Unitarian party, driven from their country to take refuge amongst strangers—let Rivadavia, Sarratea, Balcarce, men known in Europe for their intelligence, information, capacity, their honour and urbanity, answer this—their crime was the love of country, the belief that unity is strength.

The official protest of Great Britain against the proceedings of the Holy Alliance was sternly rebuked by the popular voice in England at the time, as asserting too feebly a fundamental principle. Yet none knew better than the able and fearless statesman who

\* It reminds us of the long duration of Wat Timlynn's cottage—"It had not been burned for a year or more!"

promulgated it, that the time was one of difficulty and danger. Italy, Spain, and Portugal in convulsion; France still heaving amain from the tempest that had swept over her; Germany in the wild tumults of that enthusiastic excitement which had roused her youth so lately, and still sighed for an *ideal*; and Russia herself feeling the love of change and revolution spreading through her frame with daily increasing rapidity, and enervating her forces. The tone of England, therefore, was courteous but firm; her language frank, but weighing the circumstances of the time. Still the general voice held all this light compared with the necessity of opposing the dogma of foreign intervention. Has this dogma lost its odiousness or ameliorated its nature by a transfer from long-established governments to states like those of America, still reeking from recent revolutions? Need we say recent? Scarcely had the papers announced the patriotic devotion of the Chilian army to their superiors, and the ardour that inflamed them against the Peruvian republic, when we behold these flames breaking forth against and destroying their *own* leaders because they, the army, will not march against their Federated Sisters.

But the war is not against the Federated States, only against their elected chief. It is a war of principle, we suppose, that is to trample down that first principle of nations, the right of each to choose its own form of government. That this war of principle includes a hankering after the *advantages of war* is a fact that speaks rather for personal than political objects. And it is to be carried on against an individual. The allied powers declared they would not treat with Napoleon, because from him they could no longer hope the blessings of peace. The two American republics declare war against Santa Cruz, because they cannot obtain from him "the advantages of war." Is this a satire or a delirium? Have the two high dictating powers so well paid the debts they incurred for former dissensions, that they can afford to carry on a war whose advantages are to be reaped at the distance of 1500 miles? Or is Europe to participate in these advantages by fresh loans, as a bonus for the loss of her South American trade? Bolivia never incurred a debt: Peru, but only *since* the Union, was seriously taking steps to pay hers: these countries are rich. Chile and Buenos Ayres are involved in debt; the former has actually proposed to pay her debt in 100 years,\* and the latter dreams of no payment at all. These then are poor; the Peru-Bolivian confederation rich, in money, in productions, in commerce, in credit. Are the *advantages of war* held forth to incite the poor to plunder their richer neighbours? National independence

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\* See the complete report of the last meeting of the Chilian Bond-holders in the Morning Herald, Times, &c.

is then a gem apparently of *some price* in Buenos Ayres. The tobacco monopoly of Chile was pledged for the payment of her debt to her creditors. Where are the proceeds? Have not the creditors been defrauded of these?

As to the charges against Santa Cruz personally, we are little interested in them. Every individual rising to power in a time of public convulsion is answerable not so much for the means as the end. The mischief and misery that exist in such cases render every approach to settled government a blessing, not a reproach; and if personal ambition incurs no more odious accusation than that of bestowing peace and restoring prosperity, it may justly be called the Vice of Angels. Since the three Confederate States have severally acquiesced in his supremacy, to say nothing of their publicly seeking it, it is clear that they are satisfied and tranquil under his sway, and do not want any one to be unhappy for them; the acquiescence of the people is the principle of the law of nations. But, were we to enter upon personal inquiries as to the steps by which he rose to power, it would necessitate a similar inquiry as to the conduct of his rivals and adversaries under similar circumstances. He, at least, is not charged, even by his enemies, with obtaining power by popular insurrections and Gaucho violence, or with maintaining it by intolerance, assassinations, and bloodshed. We are reluctant, therefore, to go into this particular part of the question, less for the sake of Santa Cruz,—for his conduct, as we observed in the commencement of this article, speaks for itself and for his nation,—than because we would not wish to pursue inquiry in other quarters where it might seem invidious.

We must aver, then, that, from the closest examination we can give to the subject, the complaints of Chile and Peru against the President of the Confederate States, are but the fancies of jealousy, and arising from two different sources: in the former, from the abstraction of previous commercial advantages, such as we have intimated, now transferred from her to the natives of Bolivia and Peru:—in the latter, besides the above cause, from a certain soreness at the separation of Bolivia, her richest province, from Buenos Ayres; the consequent loss of the situados, or money remittances to the latter, through the interior; the confinement of trade along her coasts, and the diminution of her chief exports (mules, hides, and beef,) to Lima, by the reciprocal trade of the confederates. That these are the real reasons we are satisfied; for, were the dangers of individual ambition so urgent as they are pretended to be, would the Ecuador and Paraguay cultivate the friendship of the Peru-Bolivian dictator? We fear the trail of the serpent is too visible in the proceedings; but though

the necessity of warlike preparations, and the maintenance of troops along the coast, entail on the Confederate States an expense that prevents for the present the liquidation of the Peruvian debt, the calumniated president has done what his rivals never dreamed of, i. e. evinced his desire of paying it: for we regard his ordinance, that the double duties, incurred by vessels touching previously at foreign ports, may be paid in the Confederate States by Peruvian bonds, at their full nominal value, however inefficient a measure towards the creditors, still as a proof of his honest intentions—the best that could be given, perhaps, in the circumstances of the case.

But what proof or indication have the hostile nations given of their desire to discharge either their moral or pecuniary obligations? Is it in the pompously paraded restoration in the Buenos Ayres papers of the Order of the Jesuits? that body which holds the end as justifying the means; which adopts in its practice all that is destructive in principle; and with which confession is the instrument that makes the very sacredness of home, the field of domestic enjoyment, the very fittest field of espionage, where a man's foes are those of his own household? Has Chile shown greater faith or greater wisdom, by converting the funds that ought to have paid her creditors, to the purpose of importing Friars and Monks from Europe, with all the vices and horrors of monastic institutions, because her own sons will not devote themselves to those cloistered abominations? Do not these acts speak sufficiently loud for their authors? Where, we would ask, in either of these states, are the public works, the improvement of roads, the premiums for industry, &c. &c., so freely formed in Bolivia and Peru? We trust, nay, we feel confident, that the prosperity of these countries is not deferred for ever by the hostility of their enemies; and that shame, and the slow sense of justice, will compel these to accept the now offered mediation of Great Britain, so desirable for their happiness, and with the gratitude due to its author.

We have dwelt at some length upon this political question, not merely from the injury which it offers to our trading interests, but also from the still greater injury which it offers to political rights and liberties. We have argued freely from the Peruvian *Exposé*, because, though long since published in London, it has yet encountered no reply, nor any attempt whatever to answer its statements, which, therefore, we conclude to be true. That Orbegoso, the former president of Peru, himself yielded up his own power to be transferred to Santa Cruz, is a public evidence of the merits of the latter—but history reminds us, that in the world there were some baser minds, who hated Aristides because he was acknowledged The Just.

**ART. X—Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn.** (Extracts from the Journal of an Hungarian Traveller in Great Britain.) Pesth, 1837.

WERE we, which we are not, members of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, we know no one thing that could so earnestly occupy our attention as the impression our national character, institutions, and domestic life, make upon foreigners. These may be ignorant or prejudiced, doubtless, at times; and, as educated under a different aspect of society, they may come to us with the same reasonable or unreasonable prepossession for custom or for novelty that we ourselves indulge in when we first cross the Channel; swallowing admiration in the shape of *Institut, Academie, Pinacotheca, côte röti, hock, Xeres, Salmi, and Champagne*, as if our national as well as individual existence depended on it, or deplored through classical or Gothic Europe the absence of a beef-steak, and weeping in secret sympathies for a pot of beer.

Let none complain of the want of philosophy in bearing these mournful privations; for philosophy can but teach us truth: and what truth can she teach more important for us to know than the connexion between the body and the soul? an intercourse renewed every six hours at farthest, through the friendly mediation of the stomach. But there are different kinds of philosophy, according as the body or the soul is for the time in the ascendant; and to the impulses of the latter we are indebted for the journal of our Hungarian traveller. We are satisfied, therefore, to take our notions of ourselves from a human source, instead of requiring

“ Some God the gift to gie us,  
To see ourselves as others see us”—

and the rather as, in our Hungarian's reflections, the *placens imago* of our existence is as little distorted as we could expect in any reasonable degree. Yet what is so unreasonable as reasoning man? and, much as the traveller before us uses this faculty of reason, we shall appeal with confidence from his judgment at times to our own;—the maxim with individuals being, *pari passu*, applicable to nations, viz. that each is the best judge of its own condition.

But our traveller is a philosopher; deeply imbued with classic lore, classic taste, and a love of nature. He was weary, he tells us, of European doubt and confusion, and longed for the East,—the cradle of mankind. He was anxious to forget the actual state of things, and to hear the voice of nature, not that of politics: for all which reasons it is perfectly natural that he should have bent his steps to the West, and come to London. Here he first discovered, for travelling improves us all, that he had exchanged the “ dark (blue) heaven of Asia Minor, and its transparent sea, for the foggy atmosphere (Nebelwolken) of England, which hangs like a pall (Leichentuch) over the earth;” that he was close by the Thames, in

\* This information may be useful in Germany, where a more recent writer affirms, in a GEOGRAPHICAL work, that London is situated upon the Serpentine river, which falls, at some distance, into the Thames.—Is this the *Schoolmaster abroad*?

the very metropolis of commerce, "where the unfixed and malleable history of actuality is wrought, as in a manufactory." He was uneasy at this discovery, till reflexion came to his assistance, and taught him that "the constant intercourse with calculation and machinery leaves man himself in the end nothing but a calculation and a machine." The feeling of the lofty and the spiritual disappears, and utilitarianism, he observes, rules as in America, that father-land of egotism, that republic upon Bentham's system, where the intellectual is altogether naught, where life loses its principal charm and brightest hues, and finally subsides into weariness: a hint as new as it is valuable for brother Jonathan, we calculate. This gnawing worm of life, however, is most unfortunately not confined to our transatlantic brethren, for it had embittered many hours of our traveller himself, and even in his native land; and hence we presume it was that he suddenly discovered himself here, as he tells us, in the very focus of utilitarianism; here, where, as he had "believed, the body ruled and the understanding, not the spirit, which, in the words of Holy Writ, alone can make alive." All this, however, was to disappear soon; for, once in London, he saw his error, and felt that it was not trade and machinery that lower our age down to the very prose of life through the aristocracy of wealth; and that the shopkeeping of the continent was a different affair altogether. In England he perceived that riches are the companions of commerce; not dwindling away, as in Germany, amidst tasteless buildings and expenses, but completing splendid edifices. No where in the world, says the traveller, are space and land so dear as in London; and yet no high, narrow houses are to be seen there, no crowds of close compacted streets, such as we find on the continent. No where in London do houses contain more than three stories; no where else are so many grass-plots before the houses and in the middle of the squares: five large parks occur in this city of the world, on the grass of which, in the midst of a world's traffic, the cattle graze undisturbed, as though in a wild oasis of the desert.

From all this the conclusion our traveller draws is perfectly *naïve*: "Certainly the English are, at bottom, a prosaic people;" nor do our trees and grass in the squares, "our splendid buildings of phantastic forms, our magnificent shop-windows of plate-glass, displaying all the treasures of the world," do away with the effect of our endless lines of cold, dark houses, lanes and streets, which, though broad and long, are witnesses of the thick and impure atmosphere of London, or efface the above conviction from his mind. There is, he observes with that love of system which indicates a German origin no less distinctly than language itself,—

"There is a reciprocal connexion between climate and architecture, which we find in every country. Beneath the clear heaven of Greece, on the fair banks of Ilissus, lordly structures and stately temples rise on white marble columns into upper air. On Rome's vulcanian soil, and amidst hills between which the yellow Tiber winds along, triumphal arches rise, and imprisoned nations have erected a Colosseum,—a St. Peter's: in London, wealth and trade build, under a darker sky and a pallid heaven, endless lanes like single palaces; the

architectural style of every nation is brought together like the merchant's wares, and in the modern Babylon the foreigner is lost in amazement. The poor foreigner! he must in England feel himself a stranger; he must forego many of the opinions imbibed and cherished from infancy as unquestionable verities; he must begin again to handle and to learn what hitherto he has not handled or learned. He is in a land where all is new to him,—existence wears a different hue; the water of the sea that surrounds the British shores has something of Lethe in its nature, for it obliterates the opinions and ideas that we bring over from the continent. He comes to England, to a people whose political writings have given lessons to all others, and to a land of reform,—and finds conservative manners; customs sanctified by centuries of time; a system of movelessness, which, banished from politics, has taken refuge in the kingdom of usages."

No little addition to our traveller's admiration of all this was made at Ascot races, in the first week of his residence here, when he beheld English women in their superb equipages and showy costume, such as his boyhood "had admired in English copper-plate cuts." And to the large sparkling eyes and long dark lashes, the rosy lips, teeth of beaming brightness, small noses of beautiful form (no way resembling the tower of Lebanon, we conceive), and roseate cheeks, shadowed with luxuriant flowing ringlets, which he carefully commemorates, we suspect much of the prompt change in our traveller's opinions may be fairly attributed. Next to the ladies he admired the horses. There was evidently no cooling down suddenly from such an excitement to plain reason: it would have been "touching a cold key with a flat third to it;" and accordingly the philosopher flies off from England to Rome in the days of its glory, and the victories of its circus. He finds the analogy between the two nations so obvious in everything,—in their love of curiosities and display, their dislike of soldiery out of warfare, their combination of the sensual and spiritual in enjoyment; in the taste for science, the preference for shows, spectacles, and races, over the drama, &c. &c., that he cannot avoid the corollary that England is the legitimate successor of Rome! This is surely philosophy in a fog, whether English or foreign.

But upon the subject of his next chapter the author comes at once to plain thinking. It is on the English Sunday. There are persons, he observes, who imbibe conjugal tenderness from the cudgel, and others whose religious creed springs from intolerance and persecution. In England, enlightened, practical England, religion is a weapon of war rather than a bond of peace:—he insists, we hope unjustly, that the whole nation is tinctured with this individual fault; that persecution and exclusiveness are common to all parties and sects; and that the English sectarians of all kinds hate each other as fiercely as in former times. Certainly the evidence should be strong that takes so sweeping a conclusion; and the writer's argument is not better supported by the Witch of Endor, to whom he expressly refers, than by the single illustration he gives us in addition, namely, the case of Catholic Ireland; for none surely, except "a thoroughly bewildered stranger," can be ignorant that politics on this question give their colour to religious differences. On one point only of this *questionata* can we pause to remark, and this but to rectify the error of

those who, like our traveller, err on a matter of fact. Lord Lyndhurst, in certain animadversions, expressly quoted the language of his opponents to describe them. This is easy of proof from every newspaper in the United Kingdom: and if it was not remembered by his antagonists at the time of that obnoxious speech,—for to *forget* is a Christian duty, often more convenient than to *forgive*,—still strangers, like the writer before us, ought not, in their own ignorance, to misrepresent the character of the British parliament, and scatter insinuations so injurious to a whole people, through their representations, from misunderstanding the tendency of a single speech.

On the gloom of an English Sunday we cannot entirely agree with our author, who re-echoes the commonplaces of its being “a day of mourning and sadness, when music itself is a sin, and an awful stillness spreads its raven wing over the whole land.” Our national mode of observing the Sabbath has undoubtedly “a visible effect on the lower classes;” not merely, as the writer charitably affirms, by driving them towards political and religious fanaticism, or to the gin-shops, but in promoting those family reunions, and infusing a taste for those tranquil pleasures which constitute the charm and the blessing of English domestic society to a degree of which the more superficial portion of foreigners cannot be competent judges. There is, we think, far more apparent than real severity in our ordinances on this head; and they may even err, though slightly, on the side of excess: but, while we have doubts whether society ought to be altogether unhinged for the advantages of eating mutton cold on a Sunday, and are somewhat sceptical whether those who are compelled to walk all the week should in consequence be debarred from riding on the Sabbath, we consider that the attendance at worship, and the calm demeanour that marks the sacred day in England, are not less accordant with the spirit of the divine injunction than the continental tradesman labouring up to two o’clock at his usual avocations. There is perhaps nothing in the national institutions of any age or nation that so strongly forces reflexion upon the mind as the absence of what are called amusements on the British Sabbath: the blank may be irksome, but thought will thus intervene, to fill up the vacant space, and leave its beneficial traces on the mind. And when we compare the numbers resorting then to public-houses with the vast mass of population that abstain from these; and still more, when we compare the few sots and drunkards within the precincts of those walls to the many that enter them for necessary and innocent recreation and enjoyment, we have strong doubts whether any country in Europe has reason to pride itself over our own as to rational observance of the Sabbath Day.

Our author gives a description, lively by contrast, of the different forms of worship that he witnessed here, and all apparently equally novel to him. Though a Protestant, he felt deeply moved at the solemn celebration of the Catholic rites, and was also much struck with the Quakers.

“ Still and silent on the one side sat the men, with their heads covered; on the other the females, with their sober-coloured bonnets of silk.”

We hope the worm that produces it is not that from whose subtle doings our forefathers prayed to be delivered; though the fact seems suspicious.

"The walls were cold and bare, and destitute of the slightest ornament. For one full quarter of an hour not the slightest sound broke the death-like stillness that reigned around, when suddenly an elderly dame stood up at the further end of the hall, and spoke in a feeble voice. She had scarcely concluded, when a melancholy female form commenced a long speech, with tears and internal agitation. She spoke of love, of repentance, and of love again: to this point she constantly returned." "I was sorry," says our author, "that this apostle of love was not prettier; (I) for her want of beauty counteracted the effect of her eloquence. The whole assembly seemed indifferent to what was passing; each appearing lost in his own thoughts."

From hence, and his devotion seems essentially locomotive, the author entered a Methodist chapel, where, as among the Quakers, he saw more women than men; but their dresses were elegant, and carriages and livery servants stood before the door. The service, a mixture of hymn, prayer, reading, and preaching, struck him as dramatic—scarcely less so, he thought, was a meeting in the open air in Smithfield; where the preacher, a well-dressed man, with loud voice and violent gestures, gave a puritanical gloss to a text from the Old Testament.

Our traveller remarks that all sects in England take by preference their texts from the same source, instead of from the New Testament; and hence he infers that they deem the Deity a God of vengeance and wrath rather than of love. He adds that Sir Andrew Agnew's bill has recently gained strength in parliament, and he looks on all this, like a true theorist, as referrible to the wealth of the nation. Machinery and money-getting abase the spirit; the love of gain predominates in life and in politics; a reaction ensues through puritanical severity and sheer spiritualism, hostile to all enjoyment. "This," he continues, "is the darkest side of the English character, the snake amidst roses; for, should England receive some violent shock, the iconoclast disciples of Knox would pour forth in crowds to overturn every social institution, and to build a charnel-house on the ruins."

Such is the opinion, hastily formed perhaps, of a foreigner who from his station in society had the means of conversing with well informed persons, and forming his judgment by theirs: but we must pass over these grave topics, and therefore decline dwelling with the writer on Bedlam and the Penitentiary, in spite of the attractions of that parti-coloured costume so admired in the heroic age of England's third Edward, but which fashion, somewhat more reluctantly followed in the present day, appears to have lost much of its interest in the eyes of the modern fair, at least beyond the precincts of Millbank. Neither St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey however, the Tunnel, the Tower, nor the Docks, nor even Barclay's Brewery, attract our speculative Hungarian. Monstrous churches, he observes, that produce little effect, and are filled with tasteless monuments, are sufficiently common on the continent; docks, and breweries that drown whole

streets in beer,\* have long had rivals in Europe and America; but the Colosseum, Astley's, the Adelaide Street Gallery, and the Zoological Garden, are to be found in London alone.

We may pass these, however, for our traveller's remarks on the meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in favour of O'Connel, and presided by Joseph Hume, and "from which the Irish members through delicacy were absent." He gives a brief abstract of the chairman's speech, and slight personal sketches of the chief orators, Hume, Warburton, Fergusson of Raith, "who is known to the whole world," and Attwood; and expresses surprise that from 6000 to 8000 men of all classes should peaceably have attended there, and no constable to be seen—the object, too, being a subscription of the Protestant English for an Irishman and a Catholic. Much of this he justly attributes to the power and pathos of the Irish Melodies, so popular in the boudoirs and drawing-rooms of the fashionable world. In fact, to make the songs of a nation is to rule their hearts, as the wily Frenchman long ago asserted, and Moore and Beranger have proved to our hands. But to return to our author, his subject, and his reflections,—

"And O'Connel himself, but a few years since what was he? The cause he advocated was not so brilliant that its rays could form a halo round his head. Only the lowest and most demoralized class of the Irish were with him; the White-boys gave him their support; but the champion of religious liberty disavowed the Catholic bishops; the nobility scorned, the tradesmen dreaded his schemes; a thousand parties divided the country, and in their private feuds forgot the public cause: but during the struggle O'Connel's cause grew ever brighter; a whole land ranged itself under his banners; the thunder of his voice rolled over the Irish Channel, and found in a million English hearts its corresponding echo. At length it became strong enough to support or overturn a ministry."

We must copy a few remarks on painting in England and France. After speaking of the Spanish artists, whom our traveller considers, somewhat whimsically, as affording a remarkable parallelism with the Greek, Indian, Chinese and Persian styles!—(he had previously deduced Gothic architecture from the Banyan tree)—he proceeds,

"The Frenchman brings all his vanity and superficiality, his theatrical affectation and display, to bear upon his work: the nationality of his countrymen never leaves him without a task. In England, on the contrary, there is almost nothing for art. Protestantism forbids pictures for churches; men of education are occupied with politics; and consequently English art is weak, effeminate, and unnoticed. Landscape painting alone flourishes; but it holds only the same rank as the idyll in poetry—a milk diet for grown men."

We cannot spare much time for the traveller's western progress. Salisbury, from its repose and German prosaic character, contrasts, we are oddly informed, as strongly with commercial and manufacturing towns as romantic life with large watering-places. Stonehenge naturally awakens some fanciful speculations in a mind so prone to indulgences of this kind; but we must quote a passage respecting the music of Bath, from its novelty in a German mind:—

\* We have not heard of any catastrophe rivalling Meux's *double-barrelled destruction* some years since.

"It was Sunday, and we entered a church.—How were we astonished as the tone of the powerful organ, one of the most celebrated in England, mingled a strain of sublime sacred music with a full clear and united voice of melody, which, from the accounts of travellers, we should least of all have expected to find in England! I wished those writers present who had formed their opinion of the musical taste of the English from the applause which the fashionable world lavishes daily at concerts upon the garnish of Italian song: this one circumstance would have convinced them that the metropolis no more includes all England, than the fashionable society of London represents the people of Great Britain."

From the above extracts it will be obvious that our Hungarian visiter forms his own opinions, and is not ashamed to avow them when they differ most from those of his countrymen. His seems, in truth, one of those wild and dreamy minds that evidence, equally with history itself, the oriental origin of their proper nation, and that, fraught with the love of the beautiful, springs ever from the sterner labours of judgment and comparison to delight itself in abstract conceptions, and only turns earthward when exhausted, and to prepare for another flight. He feels rather than reasons; and, with the fault of intuitive genius, whenever he errs it is from a bias towards the ideal of his own thoughts. His remarks on Warwick Castle and Birmingham are instances of this; and it is impossible to grapple with fancies like the following summing up:—

"It is childishness, but I really felt happy that the nearest road from Warwick Castle to Birmingham did not pass by Kenilworth. I regarded this as a favourable omen that the transition from the present to the future would be peaceful and unbroken as the road from the castle to the manufacturing town."

Of Ireland more than enough has already been said to render any notice of our traveller's visit to that country necessary here; especially as beyond the natural beauties of the scenery he gives us little of his own remarks, unless in a conversation with a native: and politics are not our *forte*; Irish politics confessedly our *foible*. We can but touch upon his visit to Edinburgh, which, as he had compared London to Rome, he regards as its Alexandria, the seat of a school of Reviewers. "Lord Byron's satire," he observes, "has not hurt them; and it is known that a severe critique of the Edinburgh Review caused the death of the genial Keats." The story is just as true of the Edinburgh as of the Quarterly, to which last the homicide is generally ascribed.

To the Advocates, who form the principal society of Edinburgh, and their practised casuistical skill, "which binds the creations of phantasy by the rules of art," our author attributes that subtle vein of criticism, and habitual attention to rule and precedent that, according to him, mark out this city as the seat of puritanism and preciseness.

The poetical spirit of our author does justice to the unrivalled situation of the city, its majestic rock, and picturesque castle, with the bridge and the national monument on the Calton Hill. Alas! the prototype of the Parthenon did not fail from want of funds under Pericles. He bestows some pages on the lavish beauties of situation

and prospect that render Edinburgh unique; yet, while admitting the beauty of the new town and its public edifices, he holds them deficient in originality, and but a *cold* imitation of the Greek. But this surely is as it should be, according to his own maxim, that architecture *every* where harmonizes with climate.

We must find room for a few remarks on our literature, in which there is much truth, though the political impress is, to our thinking, exaggerated.—

“ The vocation of a critic here is different from the rest of Europe, where the public looks on at reviewer and author as the Romans on their gladiatorial shows.—In England, on the contrary, all takes the stamp of politics. Here criticism is a political engine, and the heavy ordnance of reviews is used to breach the walls of aristocracy or democracy when the musquetry of the journals is of no further avail. The pages of the reviews are the first practice of the future statesman, and in these he prepares himself for the contest he is to carry on hereafter in parliament. ‘ Who would write,’ says Lord Byron in his journal, ‘ if he had any thing else to do?’ This is the device of English authorship, which regards writing but in its effects, and the Word as mother to the Deed. This feeling acts upon poetry and destroys it, for poetry expires the moment she becomes the tool of party.”

Again,—

“ In England public life affects poetry; round the fairest flowers of Thomas Moore’s genius, and the novels of Bulwer, Mrs. Trollope, and Lady Morgan, winds the snake of politics; so that the reader feels uncomfortable, and is often in doubt whether the Hesperian apples of poesy are not gathered from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Hence it arises that in general only young people, ladies, and effeminate characters interfere with lighter literature, all skill and talent finding ample room for Action in England. The present literary poverty of the country is a proof of the internal feeling of the nation; and is the less to be regretted, since the aim of its existence is to trade, not to write.”

“ Such is perhaps the real position of the English critics, to whom the confused tone of French literature appears so singular that they cannot comprehend it, and will not trouble themselves with this utter chaos of ideas after being accustomed to the decided language and clear perspicuity of England. French literature is also in a singular crisis, and who can augur of its next phase, when even a mind like Victor Hugo’s doubts whether the obscurity that hovers over France is the forerunner of night, or shall produce day from its womb! This uncertainty has given to French talent the leaden impress of insignificance, and deprived it at once of the freshness of opening life and of the perfection of its decline.”

We can extract but a few lines more, to show the impression which England left upon the candid traveller. After enumerating the courtesies he had received, and the treasures of art and nature everywhere freely offered to his inspection, as well as some personal attentions, shown by an utter stranger, he proceeds,—

“ These kindnesses occur so often amongst the educated classes that we are tempted to believe that the writers who complain of the rudeness and incivility of the English could never have mixed with the gentry. It is only the populace of England that is brutal and uncivilized; and this is but a proof of the healthiness and the independence of the lower classes.”

As he quitted our shores he tells us,—

“So long as the English coast remained in sight we kept looking back upon it, and as it faded in the distance we exclaimed with full hearts,

Old England for ever!”

We have bestowed some little time on this volume, not only from the talents and station of its writer, but also as the first of his countrymen, to our knowledge, who has given his candid opinion of England from actual inspection of its state. That it is on the whole decidedly favourable to us is flattering to our national feeling, and on the cause of any of its errors we have already remarked. The country of the author in itself renders the book an object of curiosity; and that it does not in a single line of its light and airy pages indulge the vulgar vanity of parading acquaintanceship and betraying domesticity is a proof that the writer's mind does honour to his rank in society. Many hints for the improvement of his native land have already been adopted from England, and we trust the facilitation of foreign intercourse by canals will tempt more than one kindred spirit among his countrymen to enlarge his sphere of observation and our own by a visit of the Magyar to our shores.

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ART. XI.—*Die Alt-Persischen Keil-Inscriften von Persepolis. Entzifferung des Alphabets und Erklärung des Inhalts, nebst geographischen Untersuchungen, &c.* (Ancient Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Persepolis. A Deciphering of their Alphabet and Interpretation of their Contents, with Geographical Inquiries, &c.) Von Dr. Christian Lassen. Bonn. 1836.

We have slightly alluded in a former number to the labours of Dr. Grotefend in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions of antiquity, and to the opinion of the Baron de Sacy, that certainty had not been hitherto obtained on the subject. To the diligence and perseverance of the former, however, it must be confessed, a larger share of gratitude is due, since his researches form a basis for subsequent inquiries, and amongst others for those of Dr. Lassen.

This last writer is well known to the learned world as devoting himself to the study of those recondite points of Asiatic philology, which, whatever their value to history, seemed till now to offer little inducement or hope either in the shape of discovery or encouragement. In conjunction with M. Eugene Burnouf, confessedly the first scholar of Europe in these paths, Dr. Lassen has already published some valuable elucidations of Oriental antiquity: and he now comes forward in prosecution of those labours, to correct and extend the discoveries of his predecessors in the above-mentioned field; without, however, attempting to claim for himself any portion of the praise that he deems justly conceded to them. A slight sketch of the discoveries thus achieved may not be uninteresting to our readers.

Dr. Lassen considers that three paths are necessary to this field of investigation: palæography; the records of languages; and history. But we would say that the two latter must be more closely studied, with this object in view than appears to have been the case hitherto; and we must be allowed to suggest, that till the more ample grounds he is expecting from Asiatic research shall be discovered and examined, it will not be amiss to look closely, during the interval, into the authorities and sources of information which we actually possess; and which, though familiarized to us under one impression, (we mean the classic-historical,) may and will afford us much of novelty as regards mooted points; provided that, in opening the volumes for this end, we also open our own minds to a wider range of impressions than the classical references themselves have supplied to us.

The tract of land lying between the Euphrates and the great Persian desert, and reaching from the gulf of Ormuz to the Caucasian range, was the seat of the early monarchies of Assyria and Babylon, of the Medes and their conquerors; it contains consequently the remains of that unknown species of writing to which, for want of a better, has been given the appellation of the cuneiform, or arrow-headed characters. They are found on ancient monuments from the lake Van, near Hamadan and Ecbatana, at Babylon, and amongst the ruins of Persepolis; but sometimes as forms of single letters, sometimes syllabic. They accompany everywhere the progress of that conquering race, the Achaemenides; and their proper geographical position is between the Semitic alphabets of the West and the Indian characters of Eastern Asia. No other alphabetic character appears to have been known to ancient Asia, according to Dr. Lassen: an assertion we must be permitted to question hereafter. It is probable, however, as he states, that the inscriptions left by Darius after his Scythian campaign, were in this form—as seen by Herodotus, and by him called Assyrian; but this with modifications: for as we know that the Assyrians used the Syriac language, unless Dr. Lassen can show that the inscriptions he introduces to us are Syriac also, we can only admit his inference so far as the form, or character, is concerned, and not necessarily the language: that of the inscriptions being, according to him as to Rask, in all probability, old Persian, and not Median—a hazardous conjecture, which we doubt entirely, and which we think requires good proof to support it. We consider that the Zend was probably the old Median; but suspect that still more probably it was a more polished and classical form of the latter. That these inscriptions are to open to us a new language of which we have no specimens extant, seems to us, therefore, both gratuitous and chimerical.

Professor Grotefend had proceeded so far as to frame almost an alphabet of these characters, and had actually made out the names of Xerxes and Darius at Persepolis. This first important and satisfactory discovery led naturally to others; and with the names of Xerxes, and Darius Hystaspes, we find, says Lassen, two words, one of which must mean *king*, the other, *countries*, though the grammatical form differs from the Zend and Sanscrit. The errors of copyists,

too, increase the difficulties of the undertaking. Dr. Lassen's system, improving on the former professor's, offers great facility; but we think some of his conjectural arguments in deduction incorrect.

Dr. Lassen concedes the accuracy of the names discovered as regards the general value of the characters at least: though not always as to the *precise* sound of the character, and in this last he follows the system of M.M. Rask, Bopp, and Burnouf. We think, however, that the difference is not so great as it appears to be, and are satisfied that, in some points referring to the Zend, Rask and his followers are at least as much in error as Anquetil du Perron, whose alphabet they condemned. Rask, indeed, accuses Du Perron of imitating too closely the modern Persian sounds; but he himself derives his own information, as he tells us, from Parsi priests in India. Now it does surely seem more natural that the modern Persian descendants of the Fire-worshippers should retain the correct sounds of their ancient tongue in its native land, than that it should exist and be found in a purer state amongst their fugitive descendants abroad; the earlier portion, too, of whom had lost the sacred sources of their language. The temporary conquest of the Arabs, with whom the conquered and broken but still unbending Guebres sternly refused to mix at home, (as history and their known mutual abhorrence show,\*) could not affect the native pronunciation so much as residence for ages in a different country: and that the new system resembles the Sanscrit, its assumed derivative the Greek, and the Armenian, with all its corruptions of foreign wars and intercourse, is little evidence, in our opinion, in favour of the system, but, on the contrary, very much against it. The cloth worn by the priests over the mouth, as he relates, would operate equally against the hearer in either case. It is certain, however, that, in some sounds, the system of Du Perron approaches nearer the ancient as well as modern derivatives; and also that our imperfect knowledge of that ancient tongue and its sister, the Pazend, prevents us from deciding with accuracy whether one letter might not sometimes have had two approximate sounds. We shall recur to this hereafter.

Dr. Lassen contends that, though some portion of Grotfend's discoveries are correct, yet he had not hit upon the true medium for prosecuting them. He considers the means to be, the shape of the character; the language; and the rejection of doubtful inferences.

As to the shape, we must ourselves premise, for the satisfaction of the general reader, that the characters in question may be divided into two classes: the arrow-headed, and the wedge: the former is angular, or like the second part of the capital K: the wedge is narrowed to a single stroke: this last is either perpendicular, horizontal, or aslant; and is also large, small, and minute, according as it is used in combination.

1st. **SHAPE.** If the angular, says our author, represents an aspiration, or the perpendicular wedge a sibilant, their application would be

\* See No. XXXV.

obvious: but they both become sibilants in the name of Hystaspes, as *s*, &c. The cuneiform, in the shape of its letters, approaches no alphabet but the Zend; and this one so very slightly that no assistance is derivable thence.

2nd. **LANGUAGE.** This is the old Persian; it is unknown, and the modern Persian gives us little aid here. The Zend was the old East-Persian, or Sogdio-Bactrian; the old Persian, the Medo-Persic; and probably one of these two tongues was a dialect of the other.

3. **Of Doubtful Forms.** Dr. Lassen, following Rask, points out an instance where the mistake of the character itself produces the mistake of a grammatical termination, which they affirm is certainly not Zend. We would ourselves point attention to this error, if such it be; for the *ao* of Grotefend is the *am* of Lassen; and this nasal form and suppression is less, we think, an error, than an indication of the equivalence and interchange of certain signs and their respective sounds in the ancient Persian. It is singular that an illustration of this kind, though not certainly in a genitive case,—though this, we conceive, makes no difference whatever,—should have escaped the notice of these laborious and accomplished scholars. We take but one instance out of many: the word *maogho*, or Mongul. The *n*, like the faint French *nn*, is here altogether dropped, or else supplied by the very form objected to both by Rask and Lassen, and which, by an odd coincidence, very far, we are convinced, from accidental, finds a perfect modern parallel in both Indian and Portuguese; as *nau* used indifferently for *nam*. In fact, by the rapid pronunciation of *ao* it becomes the nasal *m* or *n*, by a kind of physical necessity. There is little extravagance, too, in the last illustration where we observe that various words of the Spanish Peninsula are pure Zend; nearer than the Latin forms to which they have been attributed, and consequently as old as the Goths, **AT LEAST**—probably *very much* older.

We must also observe upon the second head above quoted, of language, that since Strabo found that Ariana, Media, and Persia, spoke dialects of the same language as Bactria and Sogdiana:—a passage which in a former paper we held slight authority for the very ancient period we then referred to, but to which we freely grant all the weight it fairly deserves as an authority for the time when it was written:—when we further consider that Nearchus\* identified the Persian and Median tongues of his day with the Karmanian, as only a dialectical variety—it is clear that but one language prevailed throughout Persia at the time when these two writers flourished. But the Zend, as we have formerly shown † by reasoning, history, and analogy, existed early in Aderbijan, and therefore we cannot understand why Dr. Lassen should restrict this, the sacred tongue, to Sogdiana and Bactria, and the ancient Persic to Media and Persia. We prefer Rask and Wahl and common sense on this head. Again, as far as our own inquiries

\* “Τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν Καρμανίων Περσικά τοῦ ή Μεδίκα είρειν.”

† See No. XXXV. pp. 134, 138, 140.

have gone we are satisfied that the most ancient form of the Persian differed widely from the Zend of Media.

Dr. Lassen seems generally ignorant of, or indifferent to, English labourers. He refers to St. Martin as making the first serious progress in deciphering, though confused by the vowels; and mentions Rask with deserved praise, though, from the reason assigned, we consider it slightly overrated. To him, however, the discovery of two characters is due. Of Chardin and Kämpfer he makes little account as copyists. Porter, Le Brun, and Niebuhr fare better, especially the last, who receives a merited tribute, in the following lively picture, from his hands:—"Nothing that he saw in Asia," he observes, "struck Niebuhr so much as these inscriptions; he could not rest till he had reached Persepolis: and he staid above three weeks in the desert, incessantly copying and measuring the fragments. The height of the inscriptions, engraved on walls of old, black, and polished marble, legible only when the sun was shining, brought on a dangerous inflammation of the eyes; and this, and the death of his Armenian servant, compelled him reluctantly to quit the Persian holy ground, before he had drained its archaeological sources: the last night of his stay found the enthusiastic traveller sleepless; and to his latest day the forms of these ruins remained ineffaceably impressed upon his mind, as the gem of all he had ever beheld."

We now remark on two or three points of Dr. Lassen's researches, which appear to us erroneous, and illustrative of how far the exercise of learned ingenuity, on some questions, blinds the eye and the mind of even the ablest scholars to obvious facts and conclusions. Dr. Lassen tells us that, from what Herodotus states, the name of Xerxes and of the warrior caste, *Ksatra*, must have begun with the same letter. This (first) he takes from the old Persian form of shah (k,sah), and he tries the latter portion by the Zend *arsan*, or eye, making the compound term *Lord-eye* (!) an epithet, we hope, intelligible in China at least. But we do not mean our readers to go so far for an elucidation. Why Dr. Lassen should have rejected what he admits to be the most probable equivalent of the name, as furnished by Gesenius, namely, *Ahasuerus* for Xerxes, we cannot imagine. The Thesaurus of the latter writer referred to perhaps does not give a solution; and, as it is not at hand, we offer our own. We suggest, that the aspirations strongly sounded become sibilant, and that the name, *Xerxes*, or *Ashiraseh* (*Ahasuerus*), is only a different orthography of *Ahoeroehe*, the Zend epithet of *Oromuzd*. The *ahoeroehe*, with its final aspirate, would supply the sibilant *sd*, which Dr. Lassen finds in his way: or, if it is required, to reduce this word to its components, *ahuro*, hence *arah*, the ancient royal name, being merely *Aur*, *Ur*, or *Fire*, and signifying its attribute *bright* or *pure*, (this word is a remarkable derivation of *urup*, or rather its Zend precursor *peor*,) and not in the first instance *holy*, as Rask infers; and *sa*, the adjectival-posessive or attributive termination, would suffice; but we ourselves can hardly consent to this. Herodotus supports our opinion, for he illustrates the name, not by

ερξεῖης, as Dr. Lassen observes, but by ἀρήιος, a fact we consider decisive: but here we must make some remarks on that historian.

Dr. Lassen holds the correctness of the passage he has quoted, (Bk. vi. 98,) and we cannot conceive why commentators, like Beloe, should attempt to alter it. Herodotus affirms, that the name of Xerxes signifies in Greek a Warrior, that of Artaxerxes a Great Warrior: and some critics would fain persuade us that by Greek he meant Persian! It is just possible that Herodotus knew his own meaning and language as well as even his commentators: ἀρειος, is simply the name of Mars, whom no one doubts to be a warrior, we imagine; and αρη is, in composition, sufficiently near to *Excelling* or *Great* for the Greeks and their historian to use it in this sense. The MSS. therefore, may well contain the obnoxious word, as Dr. Lassen observes they do: but we differ *in toto* from his assumption that Herodotus understood the Persian sense also. So far as it appears from the succeeding sentence it is clear, indeed, that he did not; and we affirm that *arta* is, like the Armenian *rarta*, in the ancient Persian but another form of *atar*, fire; and that the compound *Arta-Xerxes*, or *Art-Ashirashe*, is an epithet of pre-excellence, applied only to the Great King,—the Pure or Glorious, as Fire.

In the word *Darius*, "I lay aside," says the Doctor, "the idea of *Darhanus* being a patronymic, since neither in the *Zend-Avosta*, nor in these inscriptions, can I find a patronymic." He might have recollected, we submit, that throughout the East patronymics are unknown and therefore it was needless to seek them. We should be inclined to derive it from the *Zend* nevertheless; as an epithet or title of the *Preserver*, or the *Preserved*. And when we recollect that he was the restorer or introducer of the preservation of fire, according to Persian writers, we may find thence one source of the title; while the strange preservation of his descendant Darius, as told also by Ferdousi, would help us to a second, the passive meaning.

Of the word *wairyo* conjoined with *Qshahro*, or king, the Persian *Shahriar*, Rask confessed his ignorance. That great scholar overlooked its synonym, the Scythian *oiro*, the Tatar *oira*, the Latin *vir*; *MAN par excellence*, as Great or important. It is probably, if Dr. Lassen will permit us, the cognate of his *w<sup>a</sup>zr<sup>a</sup>k*; the form of *y* and of *ç*, being in the *Zend* character expressed by a double sign in both cases, and not more dissimilar than *u* and *cc* in our written hand, which, in truth, when reversed towards the left, they resemble. This word may not impossibly be the *ouro* of Egypt, and the *wuzer* of Turkey, as the *y* or the *ç* predominates.

We are by no means satisfied with the learned Doctor's reasons for preferring the Sanscrit form for *Hystaspes*, as *master of the horse*. The difficulty between *g*, *h*, and *v* in the modern Persian *Gustasp*, the Greek *Hystaspes*, and the *Zend Vistaçpa*, is simply resolvable by recalling the use of the digamma. And since the *Zend* name, which is most likely the correct one, goes absolutely to confirm, and still more by its genitive form, the well known story of a kingdom gained through a horse, it seems a strange mixture of scepticism and credulity

to reject an etymon from its native term and tradition, and to imagine an Indian language supplying the first, and thus overthrowing the latter. We do not, in fact, see that Dr. Lassen has anywhere gained much assistance from the Sanscrit in these researches; and though he notices, and it is a singular circumstance, that the aforesaid alphabetic system resembles the Devanagari, this is by no means a conclusive evidence, or even indication; for this last resembles at least as closely other alphabets hitherto unnoticed. "Is it," the Doctor asks, "that the Devanagari is a completion or perfected state of other ancient defective alphabets?" We answer distinctly in the affirmative: for we conceive the proofs are before us, though we cannot go at length into the question in this place. Nor does the Doctor himself find room in his present work for replying to two other questions, which he puts, and which he accordingly leaves to time to answer. We offer the questions themselves nevertheless to our readers:—

"How is it that no traces of these alphabets (previous to the Sanscrit) are found to the eastward of the great Persian desert, in lands which Ormuzd first created? And will time bring us an explanation soon?"

"Is this cuneiform alphabet simplified from other and more complicated sources, or are they deduced from it?"

We cannot answer these difficulties here.

We must content ourselves with giving the reader the result of the learned professor's investigations, in the inscriptions whose meanings he has unravelled—though some portions are, as will be seen, still unexplained.

#### LE BRUN'S INSCRIPTION.

"dârh<sup>u</sup>wus. ksah<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. w<sup>z</sup>rk. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. ksâh<sup>g</sup>ihâñâm. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. d<sup>ñ</sup>ghunâm. vistaçp<sup>ñ</sup>ghâ. put. âkâm<sup>n</sup>isi<sup>h</sup>. ah. im<sup>m</sup>. tîr<sup>m</sup>. âónus.

"Darius, rex magnus, rex regum, rex terrarum, Vistaspis filius, Achæmenius. Is hanc portam construendam curavit."—p. 141.

#### NIEBUHR'S INSCRIPTION, (I.)

[Lines 1 to 7.]—"âd<sup>m</sup>. dârh<sup>u</sup>wus. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. w<sup>z</sup>rk. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. ksâh<sup>g</sup>ihâñâm. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. d<sup>ñ</sup>ghunâm. tesâm. psunâm. vistaçp<sup>ñ</sup>ghâ. put. âkâm<sup>n</sup>isi<sup>h</sup>. çati<sup>h</sup>. dârh<sup>u</sup>wus. ksâh<sup>g</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. w<sup>sn</sup>a. aur<sup>m</sup>zdañga. imâ. d<sup>n</sup>ghaw<sup>a</sup>. thâ.

"Posui Darius, rex magnus, rex regum, rex populorum horum bonorum, Vistaspis filius, Achæmenius nobili genere. Darius rex voluntate Auramazdis. Hi populi illi."—p. 146.

[Lines 7 to 10.]—"âd<sup>m</sup>. âd<sup>rs</sup>i<sup>h</sup>. ada. âna. a. par<sup>ç</sup>a. kara. tha. ayam. at<sup>r</sup>ç. m<sup>n</sup>â. bagi<sup>m</sup>. ab<sup>r</sup>.

"Posui debellator. Heic hi Persæ ministri. Isti (populi) adorationem igni, mihi tributa attulerunt."—p. 150.

[Lines 10 to 18.]—"Choana, Media, Babylon, Arbela,

Assyria, Gudraha, Armenia, Cappadocia, Capardia, Hunse; tum hi Uşçangæ; porro hi Drangæ; porro regiones hæ; Parutes, Açagartia, Parthæ, Zarangæ, Areiæ, Bactria, Çugdia, Chorazmia, Zatagadus, Arachosia, India, G'dar, Çacæ, Maci."—p. 152.

[Lines 18, 19.]—“ *ȝati<sup>h</sup>. dârh<sup>wus</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*. h<sup>ki<sup>h</sup>.</sup>

“ *Nobilis Darius rex dominor.*”—p. 153.

NIEHBUHR'S INSCRIPTION, (H).

[Lines 1 to 5.]—“ *Aur<sup>m</sup>zda. w<sup>z</sup>rk. ah. m<sup>ȝ</sup>ist<sup>a</sup>. b<sup>g</sup>anam. aq<sup>a</sup>. darh<sup>wum</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*. ad<sup>a</sup>da. aus<sup>d</sup>h. kst<sup>m</sup>. frab<sup>r</sup>. w<sup>sna</sup>. âur<sup>m</sup>zdañgha. darh<sup>wus</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>. ȝati<sup>h</sup>.</sup>

“ *Auramazdes magnus. Is maximarum felicitatum existentia donavit regem Darium. Intelligentia præditus regnum adauxit ex voluntate Auramazdis Darius, regia progenies.*”—p. 158.

[Lines 5 to 7.]—“ *darh<sup>wus</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*. ihâ. dahaus. par<sup>ç</sup>. thâm. m<sup>nâ</sup>. Aur<sup>m</sup>zda. frabar.

“ *Darius, rex hujus terræ Persicae. Eam per me evexit Auramazdes.*”—p. 159.

[Lines 7 to 11.]—“ *añgha. niba. up<sup>ȝ</sup>ta. um<sup>rtiha. w<sup>sna</sup>. aur<sup>m</sup>zdañgha. m<sup>n</sup>ya. darh<sup>waus</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup></sup>*. ayâ. anih<sup>nâ</sup>.

“ *Ei sit cultus propitio. Ex voluntate Auramazdis ex mente Darii regis, (sunt preces).*”—p. 160.

[Lines 13 to 16.]—“ *m<sup>na</sup>. aur<sup>m</sup>zda. up<sup>ȝ</sup>tâm. b<sup>rt</sup>q<sup>a</sup>. âda. viȝibis. b<sup>g</sup>ibis. uta. imâm. d<sup>n</sup>ghâum. aur<sup>m</sup>zda. pât<sup>q</sup>â.*

“ *A me accipe, o Auramazdes, cultum heic felicibus palatiis: et tuere, o Auramazdes, hanc terram.*”—p. 162.

*Note*—Lines 11, 12, 16 to 18, &c. of this inscription are not explainable.

XERXES.

NIEHBUHR'S INSCRIPTION, (G).

“ *ksharsa. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*. w<sup>z</sup>rk. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>hanam. darh<sup>waus</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>ñgha. put. akam<sup>nisi<sup>h</sup>.</sup></sup></sup>

“ *Xerxes, rex magnus, rex regum, Darii regis filius Achæmenius.*”—p. 163.

NIEHBUHR'S INSCRIPTION, (A).

[Lines 1 to 5 imperfect.]

[Lines 5 and 6.]—“ *ah. ksharsam. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*m. aonus. aiw<sup>m</sup>. psunam. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>m. aiw<sup>m</sup>. psunam. fr<sup>a</sup>matar<sup>m</sup>.</sup>

“ *Is (Ormuzdes) Xerxes (Xerxem?) regem constituit, felicem bonorum regem, felicem bonorum rectorem.*”—p. 166.

“ *ad<sup>a</sup>m. ksharsa. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup></sup>*. w<sup>z</sup>rk. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>hanam. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>. d<sup>n</sup>ghunam. psuw<sup>a</sup>znanam. ksah<sup>ȝi<sup>h</sup>. aaihaha. bumihha.</sup></sup></sup></sup>

w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rkaha. duri<sup>a</sup>h. apy<sup>a</sup>h. darh<sup>a</sup>waus. ksah<sup>g</sup>ih<sup>a</sup>ngha. put. akam<sup>a</sup>nisi<sup>a</sup>h.  $\mathfrak{g}$ ati<sup>a</sup>h.

" Posui Xerxes, rex magnus, rex regum, rex populorum, benè parentium, rex existentis orbis terrarum magni sustentator, auctor, Darii regis filius, Achæmenia progenies."—p. 167.

" ksharsa. ksah<sup>g</sup>ih<sup>a</sup>h. w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rk. t<sup>a</sup>h. m<sup>a</sup>na. k<sup>a</sup>rt<sup>a</sup>m. d<sup>a</sup>da. uta. tamih<sup>a</sup>. apt<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>m. k<sup>a</sup>rt<sup>a</sup>m. aw<sup>a</sup>. diç<sup>a</sup>m. w<sup>a</sup>sna. aur<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>zdañgh(â).

" Xerxes, rex magnus, ille (ego) mihi palatum posui. Tum hoc ibi alterum palatum meridiem spectans, ex voluntate Auramazdis."—p. 170.

" aonw<sup>a</sup>m. mam. aur<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>zda. pat<sup>a</sup>q<sup>a</sup>. ada. b<sup>a</sup>gibis. utamih<sup>a</sup>. kst<sup>a</sup>m. uta. t<sup>a</sup>hmih<sup>a</sup>. k<sup>a</sup>rt<sup>a</sup>m.

" Conditorem me, o Auramazdes, tuere heic felicitate, tum hoc regnum, tum hoc palatum."—p. 171.

#### LE BRUN'S INSCRIPTION.

[Lines 1 to 5.]—" b<sup>a</sup>g<sup>a</sup>. w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rk. aur<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>zda. ah. imam. buv<sup>a</sup>m. ada. ah. aw<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>. açman<sup>a</sup>m. ada. ah. m<sup>a</sup>rtih<sup>a</sup>m. ada. ah. sihatim. ada. martih<sup>a</sup>ngha. ah. ksharsam. n<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>m. âðonus. aiw<sup>a</sup>m. psunam. n<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>m. aiw<sup>a</sup>m. psunam. fr<sup>a</sup>matar<sup>a</sup>m.

" Felicitate magnus Auramazdes. Is hanc terram creavit, is coelum excelsum creavit, is mortales creavit, is fata mortalium creavit. Is Xerxes regem constituit, felicem bonorum regem, felicem bonorum rectorem."—p. 172.

[Lines 6 to 10.]—" ad<sup>a</sup>m. ksharsa. n<sup>a</sup>h. w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rk. n<sup>a</sup>h. n<sup>a</sup>hanam. n<sup>a</sup>h. d<sup>a</sup>ñghunam. psuw<sup>a</sup>znanam. n<sup>a</sup>h. a<sup>a</sup>nghaha. bumiha. w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rk-aha. duri<sup>a</sup>h. apy<sup>a</sup>h. darh<sup>a</sup>waus. n<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>ngha. put. akam<sup>a</sup>nisi<sup>a</sup>h.  $\mathfrak{g}$ ati<sup>a</sup>h. ksharsa. n<sup>a</sup>h. w<sup>a</sup>z<sup>a</sup>rk. w<sup>a</sup>sna. aur<sup>a</sup>ngha. m<sup>a</sup>zdanga.

" Posui Xerxes, rex magnus, rex regum, rex populorum, benè parentium, rex existentis orbis terrarum magni sustentator, auctor, Darii regis filius, Achæmenia progenies. Xerxes, rex magnus, ex voluntate Auramazdis."—p. 174.

[Lines 11 to 15.]—" m. akis. darh<sup>a</sup>wus. n<sup>a</sup>h. âðonus. ah. m<sup>a</sup>na. pita. mam. aur<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>zda. pat<sup>a</sup>q<sup>a</sup>. ada. b<sup>a</sup>gibis. uta. tamih<sup>a</sup>. k<sup>a</sup>rt<sup>a</sup>m. uta. tamih<sup>a</sup>. pit. darh<sup>a</sup>waus. n<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>ngha. k<sup>a</sup>rt<sup>a</sup>m. aw<sup>a</sup>siy<sup>a</sup>h. aur<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>zda. pat<sup>a</sup>q<sup>a</sup>. ada. b<sup>a</sup>gibis.

" (Palatum) domitor Darius rex constituit. Is meus pater. Memet tuere, Auramazdes, heic felicitate; tum hoc ibi palatum, tum hoc patris Darii regis palatum, ex celso Auramazdes, tuere heic felicitate.

For the age that has found the key of Egyptian hieroglyphics and cuneiform characters one point at least is gained; namely, that the Zend is now, even more than after the triumphant arguments of Rask, proved to have existed in its widest pretended extension, against the opinion of some of the most learned of sceptics.

We have noticed lately in the proceedings of the Oriental Society, a statement by its learned President of the doubts that, in England at least, attend the existence of the Zend language; and which, it appears, is affirmed by English Orientalists in general to be a mere jargon and utterly factitious; whilst, on the contrary, Continental scholars uniformly support its pretensions to reality. We must at once acquit a portion at any rate of our countrymen from the charge of this incredulity, as some members, then present, immediately avowed their conviction of its genuineness. It would indeed be hard to determine to what extent a system of doubt might not be carried, if, because we see imperfections and irregularities in the only wrecks that are left to us of a language, we were at liberty to determine that, since we cannot explain what we see, it has consequently no existence! We imagine that the fact of the publication of Dr. Lassen's volume has escaped notice in England: but, since the ingenuity of Professor Grotewold first caught the clue, the labours of St. Martin, Lassen, and Burnouf, upon the Continent, have woven the web into a consistent texture with the relics of the tongue preserved till now only in the Zend-Avosta and a few other fragments. Whether, therefore, the language of the Inscriptions is or is not precisely the same with that of those Parsi volumes, the difference being only, at most, a dialectical variety, such as ancient writers affirmed of the speech of the old Persian tribes, we know not how to escape the conclusion that the above opinion of some of our countrymen is decidedly erroneous, since the very rocks bear the evidence of a living language against them.

But what is the language? it is asked. We answer on our own responsibility—Median. That some scholars, amongst them Dr. Lassen as we have seen, doubt this, and proceed so far as to point out conjecturally the exact location of the speech of the Inscriptions, is by no means conclusive, we submit, in the state of uncertainty to which the blanks of History and Philology have reduced us. On the other hand, St. Martin, Bopp, and Professor Burnouf, hold an opinion nearly similar to ours. But even they, it seems, are somewhat embarrassed by the apparent difference of terminations between the language of the Inscriptions and that of the Parsi Books.

While we utterly, and from the most perfect conviction, deny the proposition that the former is Old Persian, we think the solution of the second difficulty simple. The language does differ from the Zend, but merely because there is a difference in their date. That of the Inscriptions, which we shall call Median, being of the age of Darius-Hystaspes and Xerxes, whereas that of the Zend-Avosta was, admitting its purity, long after the reign of Alexander, and not improbably affected in some degree by the introduction and internixture of Greek, during the troubled times of his successors. Since the fugitive Guebres of India received their sacred Books, as it is asserted, from Persia long after their separation, it is clear that, to read it, they must have retained their native language: but since they had not the written volumes of their ancient tongue till then, is it not probable that their speech and pronunciation became tinctured with those of Hindostan?

It is not to be wondered at if some doubts have occurred in the minds of the eminent scholars we have mentioned above, as to the precise nature of the language in which the Inscriptions are written, and that differences of opinion have existed as to the value of its characters or letters. The more carefully we examine the subject by a comparison of several Inscriptions, some of them, as M. Burnouf remarks, similar, if not identical, the more thoroughly shall we be convinced that the slight differences which alone prevent their absolute identity, springs from the substitution of one form of orthography for another, and from positive changes of letters. These varieties do not appear accidental, though they have given rise to great confusion. On the contrary, they appear to have been based upon established rules, framed with a nicety that argues in favour of a highly cultivated state of grammatical science in a very remote age of Persian history, and forming, we do not hesitate to say, a prototype of the Sanscrit. We are strongly inclined to espouse several letters of Grotefend's system; some from the general admission of their value—some that differ from Dr. Lassen's arrangement,—but that support and bear out beyond all contradiction the facts we have just stated, so important for the history of language.

As instances we would compare the mode of spelling the word *bumiha* in Dr. Lassen's (Niebuhr's) inscription A. with the orthography of the same word on the slab in the British Museum. In the last line of another inscription in the Museum, we find the *i* or *a* of Grotefend performing the duty of *m*: in other places the *m* is substituted by *n*, or *nh*—and continually the initial *a* is exchanged for the guttural *a* or *o* after a word terminating with a vowel, or even perhaps an aspirate. Hence the different opinions respecting the value of particular letters are easily reconcileable; and we would point out the remarkable instance of the Ghain, which, often used as *ng*, *nh*, *n*, and *m*, is also repeatedly put in the place of the initial *a*, precisely as sounded in the modern Persian word *Atar*, and evidently to avoid the elision of the Final.

A language fenced with such extraordinary care from corruption must, in all probability, have adhered to the same system in speaking as in writing; and thus we conceive ourselves fully borne out in the opinion, that the alphabetic estimations of Rask are not invariably to be received, and that his corrections of Anquetil du Perron are not in all cases correct. We rather should be tempted to admit the double value of various letters of the Zend alphabet as given by those two writers, corroborated, not merely by the ὄμο γλωσσαὶ παρὰ μικρὸν, &c. but by the unquestionable testimony of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

We would for a moment digress, if it is digressing, here, to utter a few remarks upon a not immaterial nor irrelevant question.

With regard to the Finals of ancient, if not of modern, oriental speech, we think it almost a certainty that these, in many instances, materially differed from the value of the same character in other situations, i. e. from Initials or Medials. We cannot be satisfied to consider them merely as marks of the termination of a word in writing, because the same necessity would exist in words terminating with other letters. Since the Hebrew or Chaldaic, the oldest generally admitted language, has

various terminations of words, therefore it is that we would examine the grounds of their having only a few Finals ; that is to say, of a different shape from the usual form of the character. They would not want only a *partial* distinctness ; but when we notice that these Finals are, the ፩, Kaph—the ፪, Mem—the ፫, Nun—the ፯, Pe—and the ፻, Tsaddi—we feel ourselves irresistibly drawn to two conclusions.

In the first place, by comparing these Final letters with their cognate Initials or Medials respectively, ፩, ፪, ፫, ፯, ፻, we find that the former are simple elongations of the latter ;—that is to say, a simple and obvious indication to the eye that the voice or sound was to be also elongated. And this proposition of ours would hold equally true whether the letter, as we have here supposed, was the first indication of the sound, or merely an imitation of it, and a representation of an existing usage in speech.

In the second place, if we notice the value of the characters thus selected for a variation of form in the Final, we observe some peculiarities apparently strengthening our conjecture. It is here that the cuneiform characters come in to our assistance, mutually reflecting and receiving light with their originals, the Hebrew. The ፩, ፪, Kaph, has many varieties of aspiration or guttural force, K, Kh, Khh, Q, Qu, &c. The corresponding Cuneiform alphabetic character presents us first with two angular forms, denoting, as every where else in our opinion, (Dr. Lassen will excuse us,) a double or very strong aspiration; to accompany the utterance of the fixed, or consonantal, sound, determined, we do not hesitate to say, by the two perpendicular wedges that follow them.

The ፪, ፪, Mem ; so strongly consonantal at times, at times so perfectly faint and nasal, is fixed by the elongated shape to the former sound as a Final. Our knowledge of the Zend or Median cuneiform value of this letter is a point that may be disputed at present, and therefore we do not adduce it in illustration here, though our own conviction is that it fully bears out the argument. It is also clear that in some languages it was, as a Final, both consonantal and nasal, for the Latin, which we deduce from the Zend, uses the elision of it before a vowel : in poetry at least this is demonstrable, and here first we find the reason of the rule.

The ፫, ፫, Nun, we find either consonantal or nasal ; and in various languages the same rule applies to it as to the M, for which it is so frequently substituted ; as, for instance, in the Arabic, the nearest affinity to Hebrew. The double horizontal wedge, in parallel before the angle (or second part of a K) gives, we consider, a definite sound before an aspirate in the cuneiform character ; and this legitimizes its general sound as preserved in Hindostan and France ; while the placing another angle before the parallel wedge (thereby inclosing them) gives that sound which is especially preserved in the Portuguese *nh*. Like the Hebrew and Turkish &c. also, this Ghain is also Oin, the very guttural A we refer to in a preceding paragraph, and settling the double value of this letter.

The ፯, ፯, Pe, is nearly every where in the East confounded with B, and this last with *bh* or *v*. The two small double angles of the cunei-

form alphabet preceding a long perpendicular wedge, give the soft or aspirated sound of *B* (which, reversed, it so closely resembles) to this character, and assimilate it with the ancient Slavonic, both in value and shape. The Hebrew Final, therefore, in all probability guarded the pure sound of *p*.

The  $\chi$ ,  $\gamma$ , Tsaddi, is also notorious for its corruptions, as  $d$ ,  $dz$ ,  $dj$ ,  $j$ ,  $zhe$ , &c. The double angles of the Cuneiform, each marking an aspiration, and placed under an horizontal wedge defining a consonantal sound, show, we conceive unquestionably, that the aspirate thus becomes sibilant. The elongated form of the Hebrew Final confines the terminal to a precise sound, by elongating the utterance.

If this opinion of ours is correct, all material confusion was probably avoided in Hebrew letters; since the Finals, for one class or portion only, were sufficient for distinction from the remainder, and advantageous for simplicity also. That the Arabs extended this principle is only in keeping with the other complications of their elaborate grammatical system. They may have done it merely for uniformity, but more probably for the sake of attaching a particular value to the terminal.

It will be seen that, in considering the perpendicular wedge to bestow a consonantal sound, and the horizontal as confirming it, we are giving cognate uses to forms that differ only as to the direction in which they are drawn; also that, by our estimation of the vowel *a*, we consider it, with some writers, a consonant. We do so consider it and all other long vowels in the East, and have also a strong suspicion that this is the real sense of the ancient passage of Plato, that letters first in Syrian invention represented syllables. We hold this confirmed by the Cuneiform Inscriptions, which, enlarging on the Hebrew, add, we think, vocality or aspiration to every letter; and, as one striking instance to illustrate and familiarize this supposition, we find the ܐܻܻ, A-U-R, of the Hebrew expanded into the Zend A-bu-Ro. We farther suspect that the European and general modes of pronouncing Hebrew are **wrong**: and that the Sanscrit will help us to its proper enunciation. Further reasons for this opinion we cannot detail here.

### To return to our author.

To the question of Dr. Lassen, why no traces of alphabets previous to the Sanscrit appeared eastward of the Persian Desert—though not perfectly certain of the sense he attaches to the phrase “in lands which Ormuzd first created”—we shall attempt a reply by observing, that since the Brahmins may be fairly suspected of abolishing all history not their own, and the Jainas openly charge them with this, they are also open to the farther suspicion of abolishing any monuments of foreign literature, if they ever existed, in those places—which is questionable:—and it is only the learned writer’s assumption of what we should call Median, or Sogdio-Bactrian, that raises, we submit, this conjectural difficulty at all.

To his second question, whether the cuneiform alphabet is simplified from others more complex, or whether they are derived from it?—we should be tempted to answer, that it is probably not derived from any that we know; and that only an occasional letter of any other system is derived

from it: such as the cuneiform *a*, consisting of one horizontal above three perpendicular lines, which is clearly the Zend *a* also, and the Armenian *e*; and which in the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing repeatedly occurs with the value of both, and, if we in common with others are not grievously mistaken, at times with the value of other vowels also; facts which sufficiently vindicate Professor Grotefend's estimation of the character.

We must also object to Dr. Lassen's translation of *m a m* in all instances by the Latin *me*. We feel satisfied that it is only the elision of the initial in some cases, and that in these it is simply the word *imam*. The regular insertion of the same Inscription found in different places into the same number of lines, which M. Burnouf remarks, is not more singular, perhaps not so much so as the fact, that the orthography of these, otherwise identical, Inscriptions varies without any assignable cause, so far as our knowledge extends—whether from some unknown rule, some carelessness of the writer or sculptor, some difference of different schools, or merely dialectical variations, it were vain to conjecture.

The subject is one of the deepest interest to philology, but we are sorry to find it treated with such indifference or scepticism in England. Whether from this last, or any other cause, we know not, nor desire to know, but we cannot refrain from pointing attention to the circumstance that, of the works from which we would have fain elucidated our researches, scarcely one was to be found when we sought it in the Library of the British Museum. Notwithstanding the intercourse with Germany, neither the Vienna *Jahrbücher*, nor the Halle *Litteratur Zeitung* appeared in its Catalogue, nor even the *Magasin Encyclopédique* of France. To the labours of Millin and the remarks of De Sacy we have therefore no means of reference. But will it be credited that Professor Burnouf of Paris, on the deserved celebrity of whose researches into this particular tongue, the Zend, we should think we need not remark, will it be credited that his *Commentary on the Yaçna*, and his volume on the Cuneiform Characters, though sufficiently long published, are not to be found there, any more than his treatise on the Pali language!—and that the only work out of several by this accomplished and eminent scholar in the pages of the Catalogue, is a Supplemental Pamphlet containing a correction of some of the errors of the Pali treatise.

To these instances of omissions how many more might be added! We ourselves recollect, out of a list of sixteen Spanish historical writers some years since, obtaining but three from the Museum Library, and nearly all the remainder from the King's! The private collection, therefore, was richer than the National in this important branch of Foreign Literature; and but for that munificent gift, the **PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE NATION** would probably be devoid of them to this day. There is a book, it is true, where readers may put down what is not, but ought to be, in the Library: and thanks to the zeal and activity of the Librarians, such works are promptly supplied. The fault is not with them. But surely it would be no disgrace if our Legislature, which deprives every, even the poorest, author or bookseller of eleven copies of every

edition of every work, to relieve the poverty of the richest Universities and the richest People in the world, were to provide something like a proper return, by purchasing from happier foreigners the works it cannot obtain gratis, per force, from them: and this, too, promptly, instead of waiting till it can drive a gratis bargain of its duplicates, many of them, doubtless, procured in the liberal manner we have just referred to, in order to divide the Credit of this National Disgrace, by making Strangers participants in the spoliation of its own subjects. There is but a few pounds difference between Economy and Meanness; a trifle between respectability and shame. Could not one person be found, at home or abroad, to point out what is most essential in the literature of other countries, and to see it procured? Every book entered, as now, in the Procuranda of the Museum is an opportunity lost for the student, a reproach gained for supineness and neglect! Would not £1000 per annum effect all that is wanted on this head, or must we wait to enlarge our minds till the walls of the Museum itself are enlarged, for fear our intellects should exceed its limits!

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ART. XIII.—*Grundriss der Pflanzengeographie, mit ausführlichen Untersuchungen über das Vaterland, den Anbau, und den Nutzen der vorzüglichsten Culturpflanzen welche den Wohlstand der Völker begründen.*  
Von F. J. F. Meyen. (Essay on Botanical Geography, with detailed Inquiries respecting the Native Country, the Cultivation, and the Utility, of the principal cultivated Plants which constitute the Basis of the Welfare of Nations. By Dr. F. J. F. Meyen.) 1 vol. 8vo. Berlin, 1836.

THE reputation of Dr. Meyen as a diligent and judicious observer, already established by his interesting narrative of his voyage round the world,\* must be not only sustained, but much increased by this new work; a great portion of the materials for which are the fruits of his own personal experience and observation, which enabled him to improve and extend what had been done by the few writers who had preceded him in this interesting, but hitherto comparatively neglected, branch of botanical inquiry, in which, though the harvest is so ample, the labourers have been but few. At the head of the list is A. v. Humboldt, whose "Essai sur la Geographie des Plantes," 1 vol. 4to. was published at Paris, in 1803; his "Ansichten der Natur" in 1807, in which there is a short Essay on the Physiognomy of Plants, and his Essay "De Distributione Geographica Plantarum," 8vo. Paris, 1817. A late very estimable work is that of M. J. Schow, of Copenhagen, published in Danish and German in 1823. To these may be added, Wahlenberg's works, on the Flora of Lapland, the Vegetation and Climate of Switzerland, and the Flora of the Carpathian Mountains; and Mr. Robert Brown's General Remarks on the Botany of Terra Australis.

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\* Reviewed in our XXIXth Number.

Though this work is highly important to botanists, one of whom told us that he diligently studied it by day and meditated on it by night, and though it contains a variety of information interesting to the general reader, who takes delight in the beauties of the vegetable world without professedly studying them, our circumscribed limits will not allow of more than a few extracts.

" The entire mass of species of plants is in a certain proportion to the several zones of the earth's surface; it increases as we approach the Equator, and diminishes as we recede from it. Lapland has 500 phanerogamous and 600 cryptogamous plants; while Denmark, which is smaller but situated more to the south, has 1034 phanerogamous and 2000 cryptogamous plants. According to De Candolle, France has 3500 phanerogamous and 2300 cryptogamous; latterly, however, above 6000 phanerogamous plants have become known, only from the East Indies, by means of the Herbaria of the English East India Company; and it is highly probable that more than twice that number of plants of this kind belong to that country. The whole of Europe, on the contrary, though so much more extensive than India, has only a little more than 7000 phanerogamous plants.

" It would be highly interesting, and even now most important to botanical geography, to be acquainted with the total number of species of plants that clothe the earth's surface. For many years past there have been calculations and conjectures on this subject; which, however, have been always proved to be defective by the discoveries of recent travellers. At the death of Linneus 8000 species were known, and now more perhaps than 66,000 have been described. The number of those in the Herbaria of different nations not yet described may amount to many thousands, so that the sum total of plants hitherto discovered may be 80,000. But if we consider what immense tracts of country, as well in America, as in Asia, Australia, and the South Sea Islands, are still entirely unexplored; if we reflect on the vast continent of Africa, which, with the exception of some totally sterile sandy deserts, is as rich in various species of plants as Europe and Asia are known to be, we may at the least double the number of plants already known, so that we shall have 160,000 species. It is also notorious that many recent travellers, who have explored countries long since visited, have found such a quantity of new plants, that the above number of 160,000 may be very fairly increased by one-fourth, and we may thus assume at least 200,000 kinds of plants as a number perhaps pretty near to the truth. If the interior of Africa should be one day opened to us, and the mountainous parts of Australia explored, some of the most important points in botanical geography will be elucidated."

In confirmation of the above, we may mention that the Austrian traveller, Baron von Hugel, who was lately in London on his return from six years' travels in Asia, New Holland, and the Cape, has brought with him a very rich Herbarium, containing a very great number of new plants, and has just published a small work under the title of " *Enumeratio Plantarum quas in Novae Hollandiae ora Austro-Occidental, ad fluvium Cygnorum, et in sinu regis Georgii collegit Carolus liber Baro de Hugel.*" From this work it appears that in the short space of three weeks Baron Hugel collected on the Swan River and in King George's Sound above 300 plants, of which nearly two-thirds are new. We may judge from this what we may expect from his collection in the Himmalaya, the vale of Cashmere, and the dominion of the

Seiks. In connection with this subject Dr. Meyen has a very interesting chapter on Botanical Statistics (*Statistik der Gewächse*).

"If we range through this immense variety of plants we shall soon find that nature, in similar circumstances of climate, has produced similar forms, nay often the same form. Banks and Solander, as well as the two Forsters and Sparmann, who were with Captain Cook in two of his voyages round the world, were not a little surprised on finding about Cape Horn a vegetation resembling that of our northern zone. If we examine the vegetation of the plains from the high northern latitudes to the torrid zone, we shall find with the change of latitude a constant change in the physiognomy of the vegetable world; and the same change, often more or less perceptible, will be recognized, if in those torrid regions we ascend from the level of the sea to the summit of the highest mountains, which there so frequently rise above the line of eternal snow. There we shall in a short time traverse all the climates which correspond with those of sultry Africa, of the beautiful countries of Southern Europe, and those of frozen Spitzbergen; and in the same proportion as the variations of climate occur on those mountains, with the increasing elevation does the vegetation likewise change. The magnificent palm and the nutritious banana are no longer to be seen at the elevation of 7 or 8000 feet, but in the vicinity of the eternal snow of those mountains we find grasses, cyperoidæ, gentianæ, cruciferæ, and other plants entirely resembling those of our northern Europe.

If we more closely investigate the causes which may occasion such peculiar distribution of plants, we shall find that they are sometimes such as appear perceptible to our observation, but often such as depend on the most mysterious laws of nature, the effects of which we can trace but by no means account for. If a plant brought from hot countries flourishes also among us, as soon as we give it in our hothouses a climate like that from which it came, we have certainly found the proximate cause why this plant grows only in warm countries and not in the polar regions. If we take marsh plants from their natural habitat and put them into our gardens, we see that they do not thrive unless they are placed in a marshy soil resembling that which nature has assigned them. Other plants which nature has destined to grow in the deepest shade, grow luxuriantly in our gardens, if we place them in similar situations. But the laws of nature are inexplicable to us, according to which certain plants can grow only in hot countries, others in cool shade, and others again only in marshy soil; equally inexplicable to us are the causes from which the various groups of plants predominate in different parts of the globe, and are often confined to narrow and very defined limits. Thus we see the many forms of *Cactus* grow in the warmer parts of the temperate and in the torrid zone of America, but we also see these plants ascend in that continent the high mountains, and there grow in a climate resembling that of the Alpine region of our Lapland, though we do not find in the latter country a single plant of that extraordinary form."

The preceding extracts are taken from the introductory pages of the work, which is divided into a few general heads as follows:—

*First section, "On the circumstances of climate as the causes of the production and propagation of plants."* In this section the author treats of the influence of the winds and hydrometeors against the regular dis-

tribution of warmth, on the mean heat of a place, on its influence on the vegetation; on the elevation of the line of vegetation in different latitudes, which, in general, coincides with the line of eternal snow; of the influence of the warmth of the soil on the vegetation; of the warmth in spring on which the development of the leaves and flowers depends; effect of the moisture of the atmosphere and the earth on the existence of plants; on the effects of the currents in the air and water in distributing plants over different regions, &c. *Second*, "On the circumstances by which the soil influences the production and propagation of plants." Dr. Meyen treats, 1st. Of aquatic plants, under the heads of marine plants, fresh water plants, subaqueous plants (*submersæ*), floating plants (*liberae* or *natantes*), lake plants (*lacustres*), &c. &c. 2d, Sand plants likewise under several heads, according to the influence of the soil in respect to its geological composition, its aggregate character, its nature, its state of cultivation. To this section are added further observations on the stations and extension of plants. We subjoin an extract from this part:—

"Botanical geography, merely as a science, would doubtless be highly interesting to the learned and to all well-educated persons, but its application to practical life gives it a far greater value. When a sufficient number of meteorological observations shall have been made on the most diverse parts of the earth's surface, so that we may have an accurate knowledge of the Iso-thermal,\* Isothermal, and Isochimenal lines in their whole course, we shall be able positively to determine, *à priori*, whether a plant can be transplanted from its natural station to another given one, or whether this attempt would be fruitless; a subject which is evidently of great importance. We are most especially deficient in a knowledge of the mean temperatures at great elevations on extensive mountain chains, in order to determine what plants might be made to grow in those countries. The importance of this is evident, and I will adduce only one example. The great tract of the plain of Chequito, round the mountain lake of Titicaca, is very populous, and numerous fine towns have been built at that great elevation. But wood is wanting in that country, where an eternal spring prevails, where the fertility of the soil and ample stores of mineral riches might contribute to the happiness of man. We have indeed no notices whatever of the mean temperature in those parts at an elevation of 12,700 feet, but, from the few observations which I myself made on the spot, and some others of Messrs. Pentland and Rivero, it might be inferred that the fir, the birch, and the alder would flourish. What vast advantage must the introduction of great woods bring to those countries where now every stick, every stem, every board, is among the riches of a family; where the fisherman is obliged to trust himself to the stormy lake in a miserable boat made of rushes woven together!"

The third section treats "Of the distribution of plants on the surface of the earth, with especial regard to the physiognomy of nature." We regret that our limits will not allow us to make such extracts from this part of the work as we should wish to do, but there is one point on which it may be proper to state Dr. Meyen's opinion. At the conclusion of his first section he indicates, nearly in the same terms as pre-

\* Terms introduced by A. von Humboldt, meaning lines of equal heat, lines of equal mean summer temperature, and lines of equal mean winter temperature.—*L.*

ceding writers, the share that the winds, and waters, and currents, have in the distribution of plants, by conveying the seeds to remote regions of the globe ; but in this third section he says—

“ If we take as proved what is intimated in the preceding observations, that, with the increasing warmth on the earth’s surface, not only the number of species but the number of individual plants, and also the improvement of the forms of plants, become more apparent, we shall recognize herein one of the laws by which creative nature has distributed the whole mass of plants over the surface of the earth. These simple results alone might oppose all ideas of the diffusion of organic beings by migration. There is, however, a multitude of other facts which cannot possibly be explained by the migration of plants. The *Phleum Alpinum*, the *Botrychium Lunaria*, and many other plants perfectly resembling those that grow among us, are found likewise on the islands of Terra del Fuego, though they are wholly wanting in the intermediate zones and regions. How should the seeds of those plants have migrated from us to those most remote parts of America ? The climate is the same as among us ; and in the subarctic zone, why do we not recognize what is so evident, that in countries so distant from each other, nature has produced forms nearly or perfectly alike, because those countries are under nearly or perfectly identical circumstances ? In the diffusion of organic beings over the earth nothing perhaps is more easily recognized than the general law, ‘ that nature, under similar circumstances, has always produced similar or perfectly identical creatures.’ ” \* \* \* “ The regions of Alpine plants on different mountains are to be considered as islands in the great atmospheric ocean ; hundreds, nay often thousands, of miles distant from each other, they have many plants quite identical, and most of their plants are at least extremely similar. How should these plants have come from the top of one mountain to that of another, where the same climate prevails, while these plants are not to be found on the plain, or even on the lower eminences that lie between. Such notions of the migration of plants must be wholly given up now that we have such a vast accumulation of facts respecting the occurrence of plants. ” \* \* \*

“ The accurate observations that have been made, especially in this country, have proved uncontestedly that nature is still able to create as well imperfect animals as lower plants, without eggs and seeds ; only organic matter, water and air, the indispensable conditions of all animal formation, are required to call into existence, with sufficient warmth, the organic conformation. If these inferior creatures are once called into existence, they propagate themselves by eggs or seed, till in the end they again vanish, when the external circumstances which called them into being are withdrawn. It has long been placed beyond all reasonable doubt, that intestinal worms may be produced without eggs, and the accurate numerous observations of modern times respecting the occurrence of worms in the innermost parts of the eyes, as well of men as animals, are too positive to be contested by hypothesis however ingenious. This is not to defend anew the doctrine of generatio originaria. The opponents of this doctrine have always alleged the flying about in the air of the little sporules of fungi, wherever the production of fungi in inclosed receptacles has been spoken of ; but not to mention that this assertion is not founded on observation, for nobody has ever seen these sporules flying about, though they are large enough, we now reject all such objections, since M. Dutrochet has discovered that the formation of filamentous fungi may be induced, accelerated and stopped by chemical substances.—(Observations sur l’Origine des Morsures.—Annal. des Sciences Nat. 1834, tom. i. 30—38.) ”

We have no space to enter on this subject, to which we have called the attention of our readers ; because we believe that the arguments in

favour of equivocal generation are generally considered as fallacious. The last 150 pages of Dr. Meyen's work are devoted to a highly interesting and instructive essay on the history of the principal plants cultivated for the food, convenience and gratification of man; which are the objects of commerce and the foundation of the wealth of nations. We cannot flatter ourselves with the hope of seeing the whole of this work translated, but we really think that this essay would be, of itself, a welcome addition to our literature.

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## MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

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### FRANCE.

THE Paris paper *La Paix* states that in the first six months of the present year, there have been printed in France 3413 works in French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; also, 571 engravings and lithographs, 13 new maps and plans, and 8 musical works.

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There will speedily be published in Paris, the commencing numbers of "*La Armoria real de Madrid, ou le Musée d'Artillerie Espagnol*," containing eighty plates, engraved on copper and steel or lithographed, representing the arms of Pelagius, the Cid, Pizarro, Fernand Cortes, and other famous Spaniards, after drawings by M. Gaspar Sensi, and the text by M. Achille Jubinal. The work will form 20 livraisons, each containing four or five plates, and one sheet of text in folio. A work similar in plan and extent, is about to be commenced, with the title of *Le Musée d'Artillerie de Paris*.

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Shortly will appear in two vols. 8vo., with maps and plans, "*Histoire de Charles XIV. (Bernadotte) Roi de Suède et Norvège*," by Touchard Lafosse.

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A "Picturesque Tour of North and South America," containing a digested narrative of the discoveries and observations of all the principal travellers in that portion of the world, from the time of Columbus to the present day, has been commenced in numbers, under the superintendence of M. Alcide d'Orbigny. It will be published in the same style as the "Picturesque Tour of the World," and contain about 300 engravings.

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The first volume of a "History of the Insurrection in Poland, in 1831," in the Polish language, by Felix Wrotnoski, has appeared in Paris.

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The second volume of the Turkish and French Dictionary, by J. D. Kiefer and T. X. Bianchi, is just published. The first volume appeared in 1835.

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We observe that Victor Hugo's celebrated novel, "*Notre Dame de Paris*," has reached the 11th edition.

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M. P. C. T. Desrochers has undertaken a "*Biographie des Marins Français contemporains*," a work which will contain 800 *Notices historiques*, and a *Precis* of contemporary maritime events. It will be published in 18 numbers, each containing two sheets.

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The first number of "*Galeries artistiques de Versailles*," by Charles Farey, has just appeared. It will contain 208 plates, by the most eminent engravers of France, and be completed in 104 numbers, forming two volumes.

The sixth edition of Thiers' "*Histoire de la Revolution Française*" is publishing in numbers, with 50 plates, engraved on steel.

The first *livraison* has appeared of "*Dictionnaire classique des Sciences naturelles*," by M. Drapiez, a work intended to embody all the facts contained in the dictionaries of natural history already published with all the discoveries since made. The whole will consist of 48 *livraisons*, four of which will form a volume, and an atlas of coloured plates in the same number of *livraisons*.

The 20th and last *livraison* has just appeared of "*Les Polonais et les Polonoises de la Revolution du 29 Novembre, 1830*," consisting altogether of 100 portraits, with a biographical illustration to each portrait, by Joseph Strazewicz. There are two editions of the work, in folio, and in octavo.

A Narrative of a Voyage to Iceland and Greenland, performed in 1835-6, in the Recherche corvette, commanded by Capt. Trehouart, is announced. It is to form six volumes, 8vo., with a folio atlas of 250 plates, and to appear in parts.

The recent travels in the East of Count Alexandre de Laborde, and Messrs. Becker and Hall, are to be recorded in a splendid work, by the title of "*Voyage en Orient*," to be edited and published by Leon de Laborde, author of the *Voyage en Arabie*. It will be embellished with 180 plates, and consist of 36 parts, forming two folio volumes.

The royal library in Paris possesses a great number of extremely valuable oriental manuscripts, which have never been translated and published either in France or in Europe. The National Institute comprehends oriental scholars, than whom none are better qualified to render those treasures available; and the royal printing office possesses the most complete collection of foreign types that exists in the world. These united means only awaited the royal patronage to produce a typographical and literary monument surpassing every other of the kind. A prince, who, before he ascended the throne, was president of the Asiatic Society, could not fail to take such an enterprize under his protection. A royal ordinance, issued in 1834, commanded the publication of a collection, comprehending the text and translations of the most important oriental manuscripts in the royal and other libraries. A commission of literary men, appointed by the keeper of the seal, and consisting of Messrs. Silvestre de Sacy, Quatremère, Eugene Burnouf, and Fauriel, has been engaged, under the presidency of M. Lebrun, director of the royal printing office, in selecting such manuscripts as should be included in that collection. Among the works already fixed upon are—1. The History of the Persian Mongols, by Raschid Eddin, edited, translated, and accompanied with notes, and a memoir of the life and works of the author, by M. Quatremère. 2. The Proverbs of Meidanî, Arabic text, translated and illustrated with notes by the same scholar. 3. The Shah Nameh, or Book of Kings, by Firdusi, translated by M. Möhl, a German. The first-mentioned of these works has just appeared in a folio

volume. Some others have already been fixed upon; for example, the Baghara-Pourana, and the Code of Laws of King Waghtang V.

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The first part of the Geography of Aboulseda, Arabic text, from the Paris and Leyden manuscripts, published at the expense of the Asiatic Society, and edited by M. Reinaud and the Baron Mac Guckin de Slane, has just appeared. The work is printed in 4to.

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The first volume of "*La Russie pittoresque*," by J. Cynski, is completed. The whole work is to consist of 144 numbers, forming four 4to. volumes. A number appears ever ten days.

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A "*Voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans le Département de l'Aube, et dans l'ancien Diocèse de Troyes*," by A. F. Artaud, is announced to appear in 36 monthly parts.

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Migner, who has succeeded to Raynouard's place in the French Academy, and who holds the very lucrative situation of director of the archives of the ministry for foreign affairs, is engaged upon a History of the Reformation, which is to extend to ten volumes. This would appear to be a bold undertaking for an author who has never been in Germany, and has not even the slightest knowledge of its language.

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## GERMANY.

Wigand, of Leipzig, has just published the first original tragedy ever written in the Servian language. It is entitled "*Milosch Obilij*," and is founded on the battle of the Amselinfeld, in 1389, in which Sultan Amurath was defeated by Milosch Obilij. A German translation is preparing, with the assistance of the author.

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The same publisher is printing, in the Servian language, the "History of Servia, during the Years 1813 to 1815, inclusive, by Simeon Milutinowitsch," a translation of which is preparing, with the author's co-operation, by Dr. A. Dietzmann.

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Wigand is also printing, in Servian, the second and third volume of a "Collection of Servian National Songs," the first volume of which was published at Pesth, in 1833.

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Leske, of Darmstadt, has announced a geographical and statistical account of Servia and its inhabitants, with the title of "*Fürst Milosch und seine Serben*," by F. Possart.

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The second part of Dr. Edward Eichwald's "*Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus*," containing the historical account of the author's travels in the Caucasus, has just appeared in an 8vo. volume of 900 pages.

A new periodical work, devoted to the East, has been commenced by Dieterich, of Göttingen, with the title of "*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*" It will be conducted by H. Ewald, C. von der Gabelentz, J. G. L. Kosegarten, Ch. Lassen, C. F. Neumann, E. Rödiger, and F. Rückert, some of whose names at least are well known in this country as eminent oriental scholars. A number of the work will be published every two months.

The society for the circulation of good Catholic books at Vienna, has published the first volume of a German translation of Artaud's *History of Pope Pius VII.*, reviewed in our present number.

Max & Co. of Breslau, have announced that they have in the press a "History of Philosophy, from Kant to the present time," by Dr. C. J. Braniss, in 2 vols. 8vo.

Brockhaus, of Leipzig, will speedily publish "The Baths and Spas of Germany and Switzerland," by K. C. Hille, illustrated with maps and plans, in two pocket volumes.

Professor H. Steffens is preparing for publication a collection of "*Gebirgs-Sagen*," in one 8vo. volume.

A translation into German, of Lieutenant-General Danilewski's "Account of the Campaign in France, in the Year 1814," by Karl von Kotzebue, will soon appear, in two volumes 8vo., with 28 maps and plans.

A work illustrative of the "German War of Liberation," in 1813-15, is preparing. It will consist of from 8 to 12 numbers, each containing three engravings on steel, and one sheet of text, in royal 8vo.

The Verlag der Klassiker at Stuttgart has commenced the publication of the Thousand and One Nights, now first translated into German from the Arabic original text, by Dr. Gustav Weil, edited by August Lewald, and illustrated by 2000 engravings. The work is to appear in weekly numbers, at the low rate of one groschen (1½d.) each, and to be completed in two years.

The same establishment has undertaken the publication of "Shakspeare's Dramatic Works," in German and English, in three volumes, illustrated with 1000 scenes and vignettes, engraved on wood by the most eminent artists in Europe.

The house of Baumgärtner, of Leipzig, has also commenced an illustrated edition of our great dramatist, "printed from the text of the most renowned editors, under the superintendence of Dr. J. G. Flügel," with 270 engravings on wood; the larger by Albert and Otto Vogel, and the smaller by Thompson. It is to be completed in about fifteen parts of eight sheets each; one to be published every four or at most every six weeks.

The German translation of Sismondi's "Inquiries concerning the Constitutions of Free Nations," by Schäfer, has been prohibited in Saxony, in Prussia, and in several other German States. Lamennais' work, entitled "Affaires de Rome," is also forbidden in Prussia, as well as all German translations of it. The "Portfolio," published in London, is likewise proscribed in that country.

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Voss of Leipzig has undertaken the publication of the Collected Works of Immanuel Kant, to be edited by Professors K. Rosenkranz and F. W. Schubert, of Königsberg. They are to form 12 octavo volumes, and to appear at the rate of four to six per year.

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Günther, of Lissa, has announced a work which is likely to interest all military men, by the title of "The Dress of the Soldier considered with relation to Health," by Dr. J. C. H. Metzig, physician to the Prussian army. It is said that this work will treat of various ailments arising from faulty dress, and exhibit results which would scarcely be suspected, in an 8vo. volume.

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Lucius, of Brunswick, advertises the publication of "Fermer the Genius, a novel, by L. Tieck, translated into English, with philological notes, and an essay on the author by Ferd. Marckwort, ancient teacher of modern languages of the College at Chartres."

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Breitkopf and Härtel have given notice that the "Hauslexikon," or complete Manual of Domestic Economy for all classes, will certainly be completed in eight volumes, by Easter, 1838. The 36th part, which concludes the sixth volume, has appeared.

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The firm of Scheible, of Stuttgart, has published the first part of "Gemüld von Nord America in allen Beziehungen," by Tr. Bromme, to form 3 volumes, and be illustrated with maps and several hundred engravings; also, the first part of "Beschreibung des Königreichs Sachsen," to form 1 volume, with 200 views and maps; and the first part of "Beschreibung des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates," to be completed in two 8vo. volumes, with 400 views engraved on steel, and maps.

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A letter from Berlin states that Madame von Arnim, author of "Briefwechsel Göthe's mit einem Kinde," reviewed about a year ago in this journal, has ventured upon a very hazardous undertaking, nothing less than the translation of the four volumes of that work into English, for the purpose of publication. Though assured by good judges, that the warmth of the unrestrained effusions of a glowing imagination, which marks Bettina's correspondence, so far exceeds the bounds authorized by the English laws of decorum, that the work, faithfully translated, would not be tolerated on the table of any English family, she has nevertheless persisted in her design, and employed two Englishmen to translate it under her own inspection, nay, in some degree assisted herself in the task, though she has had to learn English for the purpose.

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The house of Creuzbauer, of Carlsruhe, has commenced the publication of a " Picturesque Tour of the Rhine, from Constance to Cologne, with Excursions to the Black Forest, the Bergstrasse, and the Baths of the Taunus;" to be completed in 16 monthly parts, with 96 views, and descriptive text, by Karl Geil.

The first part of " *Sieben Bücher Morgenländischer Sagen und Geschichten*," by Friedrich Rückert, has been published by Liesching, of Stuttgart. Another part will complete the collection.

## ITALY.

The French papers mention the death of Charles Botta, after a long and painful illness. He had acquired a high reputation as an historian, and was a man of virtue, high character and talents. His principal works were, " History of the War of Independence of the United States of America," " History of Italy, continued from Guicciardini to 1789," and " History of Italy from 1789 to 1814," reviewed in a late number of this journal. He was also the author of several poetical compositions of a high order, among which may be particularly mentioned " The Siege of Veji."

## SWEDEN.

Typography is in its infancy in Sweden, and scarcely one of the printing establishments there is in a flourishing condition. The Swedes have mostly old types, which are seldom renewed, and they still follow the old fashions, which other countries have long relinquished. Most of the other types come from France. As there are few works of which large numbers are printed in Sweden, but little want has been felt of machine-presses; but some of them have of late been set up. In the whole kingdom there are not more than 28 or 30 printing offices, 10 of which are in Stockholm, 3 in Gottenburg, 2 in Upsal, and 2 in Norköping. In the other towns which have presses, there is to be found but one printing office, so that in Sweden there is only one printing office to 90,000 persons, whereas in France and in Germany there is computed to be one to every forty or forty-five thousand inhabitants.

A work of deep interest to architects, and the admirers of the architecture of the middle ages, was lately published at Lund. This was " *Nordens äldsta Metropolitan Kyrka, eller historisk och architectonisk Beskrifning öfver Lunds Domkyrka*" (The oldest Metropolitan Church of the North, or Historical and Architectural Description of the Cathedral of Lund), by C. B. Brunius. At length this building, the most ancient and unique in its kind, has found a worthy historian. Its foundation was laid in the middle of the 11th century, and it was consecrated in 1145, and the Saxon style, as it is called, probably introduced from England, predominates in the structure.

## RUSSIA.

'In May last, the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg awarded the Demidoff prizes for the present year. The full prize of 5000 rubles was adjudged to Vice-Admiral von Krusenstern, for the work "Atlas of the South Sea, together with two volumes of hydrographic Memoirs;" 2. to Professor Argelander, of Bonn, formerly of Helsingfors, for the work "DLX stellarum fixarum positiones mediae in eunte anno 1830, ex observationibus Aboæ habitis deductæ;" 3. to Colonel Uschakoff, for the "History of the Campaigns in Asiatic Turkey, in the years 1828 & 9." The half-prize of 2500 rubles was awarded to Lieutenant-General Michaelowski-Danilewski, for the "Narrative of the Campaign in France, in 1814;" 2. to Major-General Baron von Medem, for his "Review of the most celebrated Rules and Systems of Strategy;" 3. to Colonel Bobinski, for "Short Instructions in the Treatment of Horses, and in the Art of Riding;" 4. to Professor Schewyreff, of Moscow, for the "History of Poetry;" 5. to aulic counsellor Lemenoff, for the "Account of Foreign Writers on Russia;" 6. to Dr. Faldermann, for the "Fauna entomologica Transcaucasiae;" 7. to Eristoff, a clergyman, for the "Historical Dictionary of the Saints in the Russian Church;" and 8. to Mademoiselle Jarzoff, for "Useful Reading for Children." Vice-Admiral Krusenstern again placed the prize adjudged to him at the disposal of the Academy, with a wish that it might be awarded to some writer worthy of it, agreeably to the regulations of the Demidoff competition.

• The "Memoirs of Mademoiselle Duroff," lately published in two volumes at St. Petersburg, contain a history of the campaigns of the Russians, from 1812 to 1814. The authoress entered in 1806, by the name of Alexandroff, into the Russian military service, and distinguished herself in the campaigns by her intrepidity. When her sex was discovered, the Emperor Alexander granted her an audience, and conferred on her the cross of St. George. Her memoirs have attracted considerable attention.'

• The first volume of a "History of Russia," by M. Ustrialow, Professor of History at the University of Petersburg, has just appeared. The author deviates essentially in the plan of this work from his predecessors, and even from Karamsin and Polewoi, inasmuch as he does not propose to write the history of merely the present mighty and widely-extended Russian state, but a general history of the Russian nation. He gives, therefore, not only the history of the north-eastern tribe, whose point of development was first Novgorod and afterwards Moscow, but also that of the south-western, whose points of development were Kiew and Wlodomir, till Lithuanian and Polish conquests alienated south-western from north-eastern Russia, down to the period of Catherine's conquests.

• There are in Kasan eight libraries. The university, that only luminous point of European science in northern Asia, possesses a library of about 26,000 volumes, and 258 manuscripts in the Slavonian, Hebrew, Arabic, and other languages. It was founded in 1807, when it consisted of 4000 volumes, and has increased by donations and purchases to its present extent. Besides the former usual allowance of 1000 rubles per annum, the emperor has granted it 2500 rubles a year additional, and presented it with a capital of 25,000 rubles. The university possesses another library for the students, consisting of about 750 works; a third belongs to the gymnasium, and the fourth to the ecclesiastical seminary. The four other libraries are private property, and among these that of Professor Erdmann is particularly distinguished by its oriental manuscripts.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS  
PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER, 1837, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

- 1 Histoire des Evêques du Mans. Par un Ancien Benedictin de Saint-Maur. 8vo. 7s.
- 2 Bernardin de Picquigny, Explication des Epîtres de Saint Paul. 2 Vols. 12mo. 5s.
- 3 Sézac, Abbé A., Le Christianisme considéré dans ses Rapports avec la Civilisation moderne. 2 Vols. 8vo. 15s.
- 4 Tableau historique et pittoresque de la Grande-Chartreuse et de ses alentours. Par un Religieux du Monastère. 8vo.
- 5 Dassance, Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Predicateurs. Tom. VIII. 8vo. 4s.
- 6 De Genoude, Leçons et Modèles de Littérature Sacrée. Livr. I. 8vo.
- 7 Guillon, Modèles de l'Éloquence Chrétienne en France. Tom. II. 8vo.
- 8 Chadenède, Le Christianisme démontré par les traditions catholiques. Tom. I. 12mo. 11s.
- 9 Frayssinous, Evêque d'Hermopolis, Défense du Christianisme. 3 Vols. 12mo. 7s.
- 10 Melanchton Redivivus, oder der ideale Geist des Christenthums. 8vo. 12s.
- 11 Tholuck, Dr. A., Predigten. 3te Sammlung. 8vo. 5s.
- 12 Weinkopf, Christkatholische kurze Predigten. 2ter Thl. 8vo. 6s.
- 13 Augusti, Dr. J. C. W., Beiträge zur Geschichte und Statistik d. evangelischen Kirche. 1stes Heft. 8vo. 7s.
- 14 Erdmann, Dr. J. E., Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen. 8vo. 8s.
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THE  
**FOREIGN**  
**QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

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ART. I.—1. *Karl L. von Knebel's literarischer Nachlass und Briefwechsel, herausgegeben von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense und Th. Mundt.* (Posthumous Works and Correspondence of Karl L. von Knebel, edited by K. A. Varnhagen von Ense and Th. Mundt.) Leipzig. Reichenbach. 1835, 1836. 3 Bände. 8vo.

2. *Titus Lucretius Carus von der Natur der Dinge, übersetzt von Karl Ludwig von Knebel.* 2te Auflage. (Titus Lucretius Carus on the Nature of Things, translated by Karl Ludwig von Knebel. Second Edition.) Leipzig. Göschen. 1831.

THE little world of literature which, towards the end of the last century, established itself at Weimar, formed indeed a strange contrast to the great world of action, which at the same time sent forth its giant energies from Paris. Here all was motion, contention, and combat; there all was ease, quietness, and mirth. As Lucretius says of the "*natura deorum*," that it lives

"*Semota a nostris rebus sejunctaque longe;*"

so that intellectual nature, of which Göthe was the representative, seemed to take an especial delight in leaving the noisy world without to shift for itself, while the Weimarian gods were walking in sublime self-satisfaction in the Epicurean gardens of poetry. The fruitless campaign of 1792, in which Göthe took part, did little to disturb the unclouded serenity of this repose. Matters soon returned into their old state of comfortable abstraction. While the King of Prussia was inviting the plunderings of Napoleon by the imbecile vacillation of his own counsels, it was impossible for the Duke of Weimar, had he been ever so willing, to come forward to redeem his country from the just imputation of political sloth. The whole German nation, in truth, was in a state of public lethargy, from which alone the electric stroke of the battle of Jena was destined to arouse it. But the battle

of Jena, though it might arouse the young Prussians—the sleeping Schills and Dornbergs of 1806—came too late to awake those who had grown old under the kind-cradling influences of petty German princedom in its palmy days. The old *regime* was not to be revolutionized, and the consequence was that, while the gigantic spirit of Mirabeau was walking abroad in the active bodies of a thousand French warriors, and Napoleon was seeing things at Berlin that convinced his astonished sight that there was a tribe of Germans “even more stupid than the Austrians,” during all these Titanic movements the Epicurean gods of Weimarian literature remained unmoved and unmoving. Göthe drew himself back with nice sensibility into his artistical shell, and penned most delicate romances upon the elective affinities of the moral world; while the benevolent scepticism of old Father Wieland was modernizing Lucian, and another estimable member of the same quiet brotherhood was translating *Lucretius*.

The translator of *Lucretius* was Karl Ludwig von Knebel, a poet, a philosopher, and a major in the army—three things not very commonly seen united in the same individual. But the wars of Major Knebel (to speak the truth out) had been bloodless. Though ten years an officer in the army of the great Frederick, he had during that long period seen no harder service than taking his turn upon the watch at Potsdam. So far, therefore, as actual experience of blood and carnage went, his soldiership fell beneath that of his own pacific friend Göthe; for Göthe had seen balls fly at Verdun, and studied optics in the rain-pools of Champagne. We do not say this in disparagement or ridicule of the excellent major—for he was a peaceful man indeed, but also a generous and brave man; and, during the ten years that he submitted to the mechanism of Frederick's army, no opportunity had offered itself of acquiring military laurels. But it is of importance to observe that, so far as active mingling with the bustle of life was concerned, Karl von Knebel formed no exception to the general character of the Weimarian circle to which he belonged. He was of a disposition naturally more contemplative than active; and having, like Göthe and Wieland, been early transplanted into the botanic garden of Duke Charles Augustus, he remained during his whole life a quiet denizen of that quiet literary republic, which the revolutionary storms of time beat and buffeted in vain.

Let us cast a glance on the outward fates of Major Knebel's existence. He was born in 1744 at Wallenstein, a market-town in the mediatised princedom of Oettingen-Wallenstein, not far from Anspach, now forming part of the kingdom of Bavaria. His father was privy councillor in the ministerial college at

Anspach. Here it was that Knebel received his early education. It was remarkable for nothing except for that cast of pedantic formality which characterized the German education of those days, a specimen of which the reader may perhaps remember to have seen at full-length in Göthe's Autobiography. Knebel's father was not quite so precise a gentleman as old Göthe: but, as Theodore Mundt observes, the young philosopher was drilled into Latin and the Bible as mechanically as the great king (the hero of that day) drilled his Prussian boors into soldiers. But the old German pedantry was even then beginning to give way, and young Knebel had the good fortune to spend many of his boyish days in the society of John Peter Uz, one of the poetical leaders of those times—a good, easy, dapper Horace, it is said, no less in bodily conformation than in intellectual character. But there was not sufficient intellectual nourishment yet of true German origin to supply growth to the young literary minds of the day; and Knebel, like many others among the then rising men, was obliged to turn himself from the learned dust of German polyhists to the well of English undefiled. His favourite study was Young's *Night Thoughts*—a book at that time, and still, very popular in Germany; and this we mention not only as a curious fact in international psychology, but as an early and sure index of that deeply contemplative and religious spirit for which he was afterwards so remarkable. We say "religious," not having any reference thereby either to the Augsburg Confession or the Thirty-nine Articles, but merely wishing to indicate a certain piety of an abstract metaphysical kind, filling the whole soul and giving a colour to the whole style of thinking, very common among the literary men of Germany, and which we shall see below is by no means inconsistent with a strong tincture of Lucretian philosophy. After the first serious influences had been allowed to make their indelible impression upon the susceptible mind of the young Epicurean, he was sent to the University of Halle, not to study theology and become a Jesuit missionary (fond enthusiast!) as he himself wished, but to study the law. Themis indeed seems to be the favourite task-mistress with many wise parents, whom Heaven has blessed with dreamy poetical sons; and a pretty good correctress of imaginative extravagances it must be admitted she is, if once she gets the spoiled children into the stocks. But these children are of a volatile character, and have a tendency to fly away if not strictly watched. Thus Knebel fled; and, thinking it more honourable at least to be a tool in the hand of the Great Frederick than a puppet in the formal mechanism of the law, he exchanged Halle for Potsdam, and the rough bullying of university *Burschen* (whom he never

liked) for the nice discipline of a Prussian army. This was in 1763, and with Frederick, as we had occasion to mention above, he remained ten years. This time, we may suppose, was not very edifyingly spent; no battles were fought, and upon the chess-board of Potsdam tactics it was not to be expected that the wonderful blossom of poetry would blush out. Some knowledge of the world was however here gained; and it was perhaps to this business-training, if we may so call it, that Knebel was indebted for a certain clearness of perception and soundness of judgment, which, amid all his Lucretianizing speculations, never failed to accompany him.\* In 1773, however, he left Potsdam with the rank of a lieutenant, (Frederick very properly refused to make him captain, for he had seen no fight), and with the determination never to return. His literary propensities naturally led him to Weimar, where Wieland was then the Olympian Jupiter of the German Parnassus. Knebel's agreeable manners and amiable poetico-philosophical sociality captivated the hearts of the Weimarians; the Duchess Dowager Amelia, who possessed "the gift of genuine insight" into talent and virtue in an eminent degree, fixed her fostering eye upon the Prussian lieutenant, and he was straightway (with the title of captain) constituted and inducted military tutor to the young prince Constantine.

\* The following short note from Knebel's fragments (vol. iii. of the *Nachlass*) deserves the attention of every future biographer of the great king. The testimony is peculiarly valuable as coming from one who had such ample opportunities of making his own quiet observations.

"The ten years that I lived at Potsdam, I spent, like the other officers, in blind admiration and fear of the king. We allowed ourselves to criticise this and that upon occasion, but in the main we bowed before the power and insight of the master-mind. I cannot, however, deny, that towards the end of my residence in Potsdam I began to suspect that many things were not altogether as they should be. Assuming the wisdom of the monarch to be as great as I then considered it, it seemed undoubtedly that greater condescension and a more easy spirit would on many occasions have been very beneficial. Not that the great king was altogether stiff and formal; he knew how to let himself down when he pleased. But there was still something about him which separated his person *too much* from other men. I should say with considerable confidence, that, to govern men well, one must possess something in common with the great mass of men, viz. something common-place. But the whole education of the king was unsavourable to this easy sympathy with common humanity; and there was nothing in the character of the Germans at that time that could tend to smooth down this uninviting exterior. He was not altogether to blame in despising his own countrymen and his own language.

"Properly speaking, the king was *lored* by nobody, but those to whom he had done some good action, and who never had seen him; the others only feared him. If he had any love at all in his composition, he bestowed it all upon his dogs.

"P. S.—I do not think it does any good to a king to have the ambition of authorship. Study has a tendency to withdraw us from other men, and versifying makes us whimsical. The greatest statesmen have left us little or nothing of their statesmanship in writing. Besides, study often makes us one-sided."

This grand ducal tutorship, as the reader must have foreseen, fixed the domicile of Knebel for life. He was no longer destined to wander about as a stray leaf on the surface of society, or to sit penned in a military coop at Potsdam; he was now in a quiet haven, and the rest of his story is shortly told. He passed his time partly at Weimar, partly at Anspach and Nurnberg, with his friends, but chiefly at Jena, and among the inmountains at Ilmenau.\* The majority of the young prince, happening a few years after his arrival at Weimar, released him from all laborious duties. He was honourably pensioned off with the title of Major, to poetise, philosophize, and Lucretianize as he might think proper. Thus was he allowed, in the prime of a healthy life, to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* on the banks of the Saale and among the towers of Jena. No philosopher could have desired a more erudite seclusion, no poet could have prayed for a more picturesque neighbourhood.

We have said that Knebel was both a poet and a philosopher; whether a poetic philosopher or a philosophical poet, he never seems himself to have been able to determine; and it seems a matter of very little consequence to adjudicate. But, whether the poetical or the philosophical were the proper category of his nature, he certainly was, in many respects, a very peculiar and original character; and as such, not less than as an accessory star of the great Weimar constellation, he is unquestionably entitled to our studious attention. Those who prefer the hidden wonders of the mysterious cathedral of thought to the bowling-green, or the battle-field of external life, will find themselves edified in no vulgar fashion by stealing a glance into Karl von Knebel's mind. There are many high-sounding names both in poetry and philosophy which men are in the habit of looking up to, but which would much less reward the trouble of a close anatomy than the mind of this philosophic major. Let a man but build up a system of startling metaphysics, or spread himself out into a sounding epic on a *popular* theme (religion or patriotism is the best), and he is sure to walk through centuries, eternized, if not in the hearts of the people, at least in the benches of erudite book-gatherers. Literary histories will mention him with

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\* The truth is, that Knebel, notwithstanding the great kindness shown him by the grand duke, and all the members of the Weimarian circle, (for he was a universal favourite), did not much like Weimar. There was too much of formal outward show, empty court duties, and aimless dissipation, for his quiet, contemplative disposition. He loved sociality, but could not sympathize with the loosely-mingled mirth of mixed society. Besides, Knebel was a *liberal* in politics, and did not altogether approve of certain sentiments on important public subjects that passed current in the court circle. Göthe was the man for this atmosphere.

honour, and re-echo his praises with parrot fidelity, long after the animating breath of human sympathy has ceased to dwell among his dead bones. But let a man be honest, modest, and unassuming, solicitous about nothing but this one thing needful, to be wise and to do good; and, unless chances be peculiarly kind, a hundred trumpets (were they to be found for such service) shall not be able to blow him into reputation. Such a modest man was Karl von Knebel; an honest, unpretending thinker, whose name, perhaps, many of our readers have scarcely heard, while many noisy, dictatorial Schlegels have been marching through the length and the breadth of Europe on the stilts of criticism, pulling down this idol and setting up that, according as their own sovereign will and pleasure (Napoleon-wise) might direct. We have an instinctive suspicion of the whole race of Schlegels, Fichtes, Schellings, Hegels, Heines, Gutzkows, Weni-bargs, who preach paradoxes, proclaim systems, and promul-gate their own wisdom, with much noise, upon the market-place. With so much the more pleasure, however, do we turn to those sound, healthy minds that digest their food in quiet, and who, though busy enough in putting questions to Nature, do not feel themselves called upon to come forward and publicly *catechize* her. We value their doubts, as Lord Eldon said of a celebrated Scotch lawyer, more than the assertions of twenty Gamaliels. There are certain subjects on which the highest wisdom is the wisdom of Harpocrates—to hold our fingers upon our lips and be silent. Were this duly considered, a great deal of our most vaunted learning, whether under the name of poetry, philosophy, or theology, matters little, would be seen to be what it really is, viz. dust and smoke, with a twinkling intellectual hallucination gathered round it, to confound the weak sight of those whose eyes are every where except in their head.

But enough of this. Our zeal, however, will appear perfectly justifiable, when we consider what a mass of confounded and confounding transcendental nonsense is daily echoed over to us under big sounding titles (*ρηματα πεπυργωμενα*) from Germany, while calm, clear, unobtrusive reason is condemned to sit silent, like a clever school-boy, taught when it should teach. Karl von Knebel was a decided enemy to the mystic babble of the romantic school; and it is for this calm, classical clearness, working purely, for so many years, in wise silence, that we so highly esteem him. This quiet, unclouded walk of sober speculation, he maintained, be it observed, in Germany; the land of much misty metaphysics, and of many foolish books; and yet he neither mystified in metaphysics, nor ever published any thing that in folio'd Germany could deserve the name of a book. So

far from his philosophy being marked with that bold rash character which distinguishes so many continental speculations, it was, if any thing, rather anxiously and scrupulously timid. To this instinctive aversion to dogmatizing, we are to attribute, in a great measure, the uncertainty with which he always spoke of the immortality of the soul; agreeing herein with many of the profoundest philosophers and theologians of our own country, that on such a subject the utmost that mere reason can attain to is a hope; while "life and immortality" can only be fully brought to light by an extraordinary revelation. But we shall see, anon, with what a holy sublimity (we speak soberly) he could speak even on the fearful subject of the annihilation of the soul; and we shall also see how strangely, in the mind of this man, the principles of an Epicurean and seemingly materializing philosophy are united with the most profound piety and the most pure Evangelical morals. This may indeed sound strange to some of those mechanical reasoners, too frequently, alas! to be found in our land of rail-roads and steam-coaches; but the human mind is neither a square nor a triangle, nor is it to be measured by cubic inches, or weighed by avoirdupoise. The ever-fermenting elements of German thought give birth to strange combinations and most curious mixtures, which the eye of a *mere* Englishman looks upon but does not understand. We must be content to put on a pair of Nurnberg spectacles for a season, if we would see the true meaning and import of such minds as Knebel's and Göthe's. The *letter* of mere church-orthodoxy, and mere university-logic, finds itself out of reckoning here; and, above all things, it is the consummation of critical absurdity to bring an "Essay on Taste," or a pair of French scissors (of Boileau or Batteux manufacture), to clip and pare at the mind of a German metaphysician. Pedantry may measure the length and breadth of pedantry; but, on the same principle, Nature has no measure but herself.

Karl von Knebel was in reality a curious compound. We have found in him a strange mixture of the delicacy of Jacobi with the somewhat rude strength and rough hilarity of Professor Zelter. But the Jacobi predominates (though, happily, without one grain of the faith-philosopher's vanity); and, on the whole, we should say, that there is something feminine, certainly nothing effeminate, in his constitution. He overflows with love and kindness—a peculiar virtue of the Germans; and he has a tenderness altogether his own, which fitted him well to be the friend of Jean Paul Richter. But he has also frequent breakings (though they seem to have been mellowed with the ripeness of his latter years) of what Wieland called his "*Grau-*

*samkeit*;" he can say very severe and very cutting things when his bile is up; and the honest Germans, with their learned pedantry, their watery sentimentality, and their misty romanticism, are lashed, every now and then, with a force that might have come from the strong arm of Wolfgang Menzel. But Knebel is too much of the easy philosopher to allow himself to be discomposed for any length of time by these occasional salilies. Epicurus smiles through Demosthenes; and, whereas Wolfgang Menzel walks forth bristling with satire to sting to death all the base leeches that suck the life of his dear fatherland, Karl von Knebel remains in his sunny garden, smiling at the passing cloud which his own soul had raised, and proving that, notwithstanding all German moral prostration and German political imbecility, Nature is wise and God is good.

With such peculiar elements of character, calculated at once to please the superficial and to satisfy the profound, it is no wonder that Knebel made friends wherever he turned himself, and was, in particular, the idol and intimate of all those distinguished personages who constituted the literary society of Weimar. Lords and ladies, poets and philosophers, believers and infidels, seem to have been equally delighted with him. Göthe was indebted to him for his introduction to the young duke at Frankfurt; and Herder, who, in his latter years, was not always very happy in the Weimarian circle, seems absolutely to have *lived in* the atmosphere of Knebel's mind. Wieland found Lucretius a very useful ally in his anti-Platonic skirmishes; only Schiller does not seem to have had any immediate connection with Karl von Knebel; and that we do not exactly understand. That same moral purity and religious enthusiasm, which united him so intimately with Herder, should, it might seem, have made him the bosom friend of the bard of Wallenstein. But there seems to have been something backward, and, we might almost say, monkish, in Schiller's character, with which Knebel's sunny cheerfulness did not perhaps altogether sympathize. Whatever might have been the cause, Herder, Wieland, and Göthe, seem to have monopolized Knebel's intimacy, to the almost complete, if not total, exclusion of Schiller.

Knebel lived ninety years in the enjoyment of leisure and good health, and occupied himself for the last fifty years of his life almost exclusively with science and literature. But, as we have said, he does not seem to have been at all ambitious of literary reputation; and, though endowed by nature with a very active and discursive mind, and continually busy, he never seems to have seriously occupied himself with the idea either of building a scientific system of his strange musings, or of writing a modern

philosophical poem, after the example of Lucretius, "De rerum naturâ." This want of literary ambition has certainly been a loss to the world; but it was no loss to Knebel. He was not, on that account, held in the less estimation by the great minds that were then creating German literature; nor did he live less piously in faithful communion with his own chosen goddess, "MADRE NATURA." Nevertheless, he thought it his duty to do something for public edification, as well as for private enjoyment; and as Herder, spurring most mercilessly at himself, was also wicked enough to spur the ease of the Epicurean, some beautiful poems at length blossomed into day, and some classical translations were at length made visible, by which it was meant to convince John Henry Voss that all good translations must be, like all good originals, a spiritual growth, and not a mere mechanical and most erudite dove-tailing of short and long syllables. Among other things, a classical translation of Lucretius was lucubrated, a work of love, in executing and improving which the author employed thirty conscientious years. This work was hailed by all the leading men in Germany, long before it publicly appeared, as a master-piece both of poetry and scholarship; what peculiar claims it has upon the attention of Englishmen, we shall see below.

Before proceeding, however, to cast a hasty critical glance over the volumes, the titles of which head these cursory remarks, we must be allowed to insert, from Mundt's interesting biography, the following edifying account of the philosopher's death. Nothing can be more morally beautiful or psychologically instructive.

"Knebel died, not of any disease, but, in the most peculiar and beautiful sense, of mere ripeness and sufficiency of existence. He had a long and happy career. He exhausted his activities in almost every direction, and a length of healthy years was given to him, almost surpassing the measure of humanity. He died on the 23d February, 1834, in his ninetieth year. During his whole illness his mind remained strong and cheerful. He frequently spoke to his friends of the satisfaction which the preservation of purely moral habits affords in life no less than in death. 'Every thing,' he said, 'depended originally on good natural disposition, but every one must take care for himself not to allow any black spot to defile Nature's handiwork.' To a friend, who asked him whether he suffered much pain, he replied, 'Nature is wise; she knows what she is about; every thing depends upon the anvil on which the stroke falls, and I am strong enough to bear common things.'

"In his last days his fancies became somewhat loose and delirious; but always cheerful. At other moments his mind seemed peculiarly acute, and he spoke, particularly to his family physician Stark, with great clearness and animation, on the most important subjects of religion.

Leaving other things, he maintained that the ancients, with all their blindness, had nevertheless often expressed themselves with the greatest wisdom on religious subjects; and to prove this, he quoted the passage from Lucan:—

‘*Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quo cunque moveris.*’

“Then, with regard to the immortality of the soul, he expressed himself thus: ‘The power within us that thinks, wills, and acts, cannot possibly die with the body. I have no doubt that, in the great economy of nature, it will be disposed of somewhere, where it may arrive at greater ripeness and perfection—how?—where?—in what form?—that cannot be determined—enough for us that we may entertain the firm hope that the soul will endure after death.’ These expressions of Knebel's are so much the more interesting, as they are directly in contradiction to that unhappy scepticism which troubled him during his life, and show a view of spiritual things somewhat more positive and satisfactory.”

Such was the death of Karl Ludwig von Knebel, approaching in his death as in his life (to borrow a characteristic from Adam Smith), as nearly as human frailty admits, to the model of a perfectly wise and virtuous man. Let us now see what relicts he has left behind him, to refresh posterity with the memory of a truly good man.

The three volumes of “*Briefwechsel und Nachlass*,” that Varnhagen and Mundt have edited, contain many things that have no very immediate reference to Knebel. The greater part of the correspondence consists, not of letters from Knebel, but of letters to Knebel without the answers; the consequence of which is manifestly this, that we learn less of Knebel than was expected from such a collection, and the work becomes in some parts merely a bundling together of unconnected fragments. Nevertheless, we are thankful for the gift. The volumes before us, though they cannot prove so interesting to the general reader as the collections of Eckermann, Zelter, &c., are, even in this necessarily imperfect state, of the very first importance to the literary historian. The correspondence of Knebel throws light upon many things which the Göthean memorials altogether conceal, or which they do not even touch upon. In his early days, the Prussian officer moved in a region of which Göthe knew little or nothing. The star of Ramler was then in the ascendant; and it was very naturally thought, that the king of the literary world should be found in the same northern capital that Frederick had made the head of German politics, viz. Berlin. After he came to Weimar again, Knebel was by no means a mere *attaché* of Göthe's senatorian dignity. Knebel was, in all matters (except the purse, which depended on the grand duke),

a most independent man. He had his own region of thought and feeling, within which Göthe was not permitted to enter; and he maintained an extensive correspondence with the most distinguished literary characters of Germany, far beyond the circle of what Madame Herder, in one of her outbursts of perhaps not altogether unjust indignation, called "Göthe's clique."\* We have already intimated that Knebel was superior to many of the common weaknesses and extravagances of the German mind. This gives to his opinions on literary matters, especially on the literature of his own country, an importance of no ordinary character. Though less systematic, he is in some respects more valuable as a critic of German literature, than Wolfgang Menzel, whose searching self-anatomization we have so often had occasion to laud. Menzel is an active partisan, Knebel is a calm observer. This makes all the difference of right and wrong in matters of criticism; and, except it be the immortal Herder himself, we know no German to whose judgment on native literature we are inclined to give greater weight than Major Knebel.

To the inquirer into the young German literature of the last century, the correspondence of Knebel will prove extremely instructive. We have, in the first place, Ramler presiding at Berlin, in literary state, much consulted by poets and poetlings, young and old, in the all-important work of giving regenerated Germany a literature, in spite of Frederick the Great and Voltaire. He is the filer general to the Muses, the expert surgeon of verse; and though Boie and Bürger sometimes complain that he cuts off the finger when he should only pare the nail, he is still the acknowledged lord of the lyric Parnassus; the shears of literary Fate are in his hand; Anna Louise Karschin, the poetess, though she is obliged to allow, in deference to public opinion, that he is the king of poets, finds that he must be a narrow-minded and even a bad man, for he had scored more verses in her clever poems than he had allowed to remain. In short, Ramler, in Berlin, plays, upon a small scale, the part that Göthe afterwards played in Weimar. He is the secret terror of the whole Parnassus; and no verse-maker can hope to elaborate an ode so perfect that Ramler shall not be able to clip some word or syllable not altogether Horatian out of its completeness. To him Father Gleim makes a necessary counterpoise. He, too, is lord of a small kingdom of young poets; but, as he has the reputation of being Anacreontic, and as this to the stiff pedants of

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\* See the letters of Caroline von Herder *passim*, in the second volume of this collection.

that formal age was the same thing as immoral, he does not share the general admiration of Ramler, and, especially in Berlin, has many gainers. But Gleim is too easy in his nature to allow himself to be seriously discomposed, either by the sharp filings of Ramler's criticism, or the rough rubs of public opinion. He is too busy with his John George Jacobi, his Michaelis, his Schmidt, his first and second Kleist (Knebel was the second), to concern himself much about the undue ascendancy of the Berlin dynasty; at all events, while his own dear Uz lives at Anspach, he swears that Ramler shall not be the German Horace. Then we have Boie, the father of the golden-winged race of annuals, sending most voluminous communications from Göttingen to Potsdam, and requiring the advice and assistance of Knebel at every new publication of the world-renowned "Musen-Almanach." These letters of Boie are particularly interesting, and will furnish not a few fresh traits of nature to any person who shall undertake to write the history of the celebrated Göttingen "Hainbund." Bürger, Voss, and many others, who afterwards acquired a European celebrity, appear in Boie's bulletins to Knebel as lads of excellent promise, among some three-score that seemed as good. It is uncertain, as yet, whether they are to emerge as eagles or as butterflies; and unfortunately, in literary development, Time does not always bring roses.

It would be impossible for us to attempt giving any idea of the strange jumble of half-literary, half-social gossip that this extensive correspondence contains. In addition to what we have just mentioned, however, we may run over the following names:—The Grand Duke Charles Augustus, the Duchess Dowager Amelia, the Grand Duchess Louisa, Herr von Einsiedel, Herr von Dalberg, Frederick Jacobi, Frederick Nicolai, Grossmann (the author of several plays), Wieland, Herder, Caroline Herder, Lavater, Henry Meier, Jean Paul Richter, Matthisson, Hegel, Fernow, Falk, John Henry Voss, Franz Passow (the accomplished Greek lexicographer), Oken, Zacharias Werner, Wolf (the editor of Homer), Schütz (we suppose the editor of *Æschylus*), Böttiger, and Chancellor von Müller.\* The mention of these names alone is sufficient to show the high estimation in which Knebel was held by distinguished men of the most different characters and pursuits throughout Germany. Being nothing of the parasite or satellite (a sort of character that has now and then gained for itself an undeserved prominence in lite-

\* There are no letters to or from Göthe in this collection. We have heard that they are published in a separate collection, but we have not seen them. We have, however, quite enough of *Göthiana* without them.

rary history), but rather, on the contrary, of a sensitive and retiring nature, his extensive acquaintance with so many distinguished characters can only be attributed to his own merits.

Abstracting from the value of some of the other letters, as original contributions to literary history, to us by far the most interesting in the collection are those of Wieland, Herder, Richter, and Knebel himself. Wieland is pleasant and witty, as he always is, (one of the few Germans, says Knebel, who knows the meaning of the word "taste"); Herder is all fire and enthusiasm, with an intellect marching at a giant pace beyond the age, impatient withal, and irritable somewhat too much for a wise man and a doctor of divinity; but fond, very fond of Knebel, and a perfect pattern of Christian nobility in all the *active* virtues. Richter is in his letters what he is in his writings; viz., what no other body, not even Shakspeare, ever was or will be—something perfectly unique; sending out skyrockets and meteoric stones at every turn, and yet mild as the moon-beam sleeping upon a primrose-bank. Knebel, again, is what we have described him to be,—clear, calm, sensible, yet warm withal, sportive, and very amiable. Here follows a specimen from Herder:—

" Weimar, Nov. 6, 1784.

" Thanks to you, dear friend, for your friendly feelings, and your fine philosophy, but I am not to be deceived. With all your smooth Epicurean exterior, there lives a secret restlessness in you, like a chicken in an egg, and you must bestir yourself to do something. A well-defined sphere of activity is the only way to keep our thoughts and desires in order, and to give them some shape, though it be but the shape of our imperfect selves. Let it be what it may—but work we must have. Our inner world, with its vast and indefinite aspirings, must learn to apply itself to the limited sphere of our outward existence. Forgive me this cheap philosophy; but I give you the result of my own experience, and of my experience even of this day, when I have been driven on—'*iniquae mentis asellus*'—by every possible disagreeable externality. I haste, like a panting stag to the fountain, and begin with to-morrow's dawn some connected work; though, to tell you the truth, I do not yet possess the *punctum saliens* from which it is to proceed. Do you the like, dear Knebel, and thus, by two different roads, we shall certainly arrive at the same goal.

" Of our most recent literature I have hardly seen any thing. What I have seen gave me no refreshment. Engel's '*Mimik*' is mere tinkling cymbals; no art, no soul, and no object. He knows no language of gesticulation but that of the Berlin players; and he seems to have no other object but to write for the genteel Berlin public, and to cradle them into a classical sleep with his sweet syllables. Eberhard has published his miscellaneous works, the philosophy of which smells like an old cheese, and any thing else in the book is little better.

"Göthe has been here, and sends us his essay on Osteology; very beautiful and simple. *That man is walking in the true way that nature leads him, and good luck comes to meet him.* Notwithstanding this, we have lately made the important discovery that, according to the authority of old medals, he existed in a previous state as Julius Cæsar, with the title of '*Dictator perpetuus*,' and '*Imperator*'; as a punishment, however, for his despotical conduct in that Avatar, he was made to appear again upon earth, after nearly 1800 years, as privy councillor to the Grand Duke of Weimar—promoted backwards. Let us take due heed that we be not promoted after the same fashion; I am afraid that you have already suffered some castigative metempsychosis of the same kind, otherwise why do you sit moping there in the castle at Jena?

"Now, my dear Knebel, may every thing good attend you; and specially I wish that this letter were accompanied by an invisible sting, in Latin *stimulus*, to goad you on *ad laborem*. '*Labor improbus omnia vincit.*' I have asked in vain for the translation of Lucretius you mention. But why do you not translate it yourself? I embrace you in love and friendship. H."

This is an interesting letter in many respects. We see from it how Herder was the cause of Knebel's translating Lucretius,—somewhat so, at least, in the same sense that (according to Helvetius), deer-stealing was the cause of Shakspeare's theatrical genius. The allusion to Göthe is excellent and true, both in its encomium and in its ridicule: "*Es ist gar possierlich wie der Mensch so feyerlich wird!*" says the Grand Duke, in a letter to Knebel: "It is really comical to observe what an air of solemnity Göthe has lately put on!" This Cæsarean dignity and senatorian gravity, with which Herder makes himself merry, is a very characteristic trait in the man whom A. W. Schlegel not improperly designates "*Olympian Göthe*"; and he who wishes to see it in perfection may read Bettina Brentano's love-letters.

Let us now select a short and characteristic specimen of Jean Paul.

"Baireuth, March 24th, 1810.

"Respected friend! If you would only write as many letters to me as I send books to you, I should be contented; for then I should have one letter for Schmelzle, one for Katzenberger, and one for Dämmerungen, and that is three more than I have had; besides the critical hints which I should have received from a judge whom I esteem as I do you. Are there then no pens and no posts in the world? Postmasters certainly we have now, for every prince is one. How much do I long for a single day of your company to chat with Epicurean wisdom over the *lusus naturæ* and *diaboli* of this generation! Moreover, about the literary *lusus* I should like to hear your sage discourse; for example, the '*Wahlverwandschaften*', in defence of which I feel very much inclined to say a word or two against its calumniators, though I certainly am no friend of this sort of idealized adultery. The real offence would be much more moral.

"And now a request. Send me some of your poems; for I hate poems more and more the longer I live, and I can only digest such good, sound, wholesome stuff as my Knebel provides.

"Adieu,

"J. P. F. RICHTER."

The following letter from Kuebel to Böttiger tells a few secrets; first, as to the general amenity of Weimarian society; secondly, and specially, as to the venerable ignorance on matters political which prevailed in that court-atmosphere. We have already mentioned in a note that Knebel was a liberal in political sentiment; and though himself, so far as outward occupation was concerned, one of the Epicurean gods as much as Göthe or Wieland, yet inwardly (as Herder has it) he was like a chicken in an egg, and could never feel altogether comfortable. This letter appears to have been quite confidential, and, properly speaking, ought never to have been published; but the Duke, and Göthe, and Wieland are now dead; and, now that there are no Etruscans in the world, it is no *crimen violati sepulcri* to ransack their tombs.

"Nurnberg, October 12th, 1797.

"As to what you say to me confidentially about our dear Weimar, you are quite right, and I have only to lay my hand over it and look up to heaven. . . . Here I see every thing more clearly in its true connection; and I must just learn to hold my tongue: for diseases which have grown up during a long course of years, from a thousand chances and circumstances, are very difficult of cure, and in this case, I fear, are past the hope of curing. The want of union and unity on our side seems to be the principal cause of all the evil. But how is union to arise among so many *positive electricities*, as Dr. Ehrhardt yesterday called them? Here we have *positives* of every kind; and every one seems the more determined to be a prominent positive, the less capacity he has for being so to any purpose. This same Dr. Ehrhardt, who lived with us a few days at Anspach, told us a saying of Kant, (his great prophet!) that *there is no more detestable life than among mere men of learning*; and as for himself he could not exist in such society. We have experienced the truth of this saying in W.; for though the vanity of being thought something of at court smoothed down our angles a little; yet, as the nourishment of this vanity was very scant, and soon ran dry, matters would no longer hold together. Now we are sick without union, without help from above or from below. Under these circumstances my only wish and prayer is, to live any where, only not in W. They pierce my heart through, and come what may, I am determined to escape them. There is nothing now to be done in Prussia; and as the grand duke has the best feelings towards me, I certainly do not feel myself justified in rejecting his offers. I shall seek out for myself some quiet corner of his domains where I may live at peace. This is not now so easy as it once was. Therefore, I beseech you, keep your finger upon

your lips. I must look carefully about me for a proper *hole* to hide myself in ; for matters are bad enough now, and it is pretty plain they are getting worse every day.

"On political matters I had 9999 maxims and opinions to recite to you ; but they shall be left out for the present. In W. I must let you understand that they have no judgment at all in these matters ; and what my above-named friend said is most certainly true in another sense ; for I believe the learned men of Germany are of all others the most ignorant in certain matters. About politics Wieland has written the most absurd nonsense, changing his tone with every new turn of affairs ; and in general it is objected to us in W., that ~~WE HAVE NO PRINCIPLES~~,—an objection not altogether unfounded ; at all events we seem to have little consistency (*Consequenz*)—‘*Hinc illæ lacrymæ.*’ Nevertheless I should like to see Göthe *here*, for there is a sad want of human beings. The Nurnbergers are all Chinese ; they will take in nothing that does not chime in with the natural sing-song of their ideas ; active interchange of thoughts they know nothing of. At the same time I must say, to their credit, that neither here, nor in Anspach, nor Baireuth, do I find that peculiar sharpness of the nose in scenting out democracy (*Demokratenspürerei*) which is so potent in W. There is some common sense in this.

"KNEBEL."

Not less independent was Knebel in his opinions on German literature. The following extracts are from letters to Böttiger.

"Ilmenau, December 28th, 1800.

"A storm is breaking over our polite literature that looks almost as fearful as the political. We have ourselves to blame. First by our base submission, and then by our overweening conceit, and vain trumpeting of our own merits, we have taught the French to despise us. Now they are determined to see what really is at the bottom of all this clatter ; and I fear that, besides the *ill-informed Madame de Staél*, (so they have it in the *Merkur* !) there are not a few others who see things with the same eyes. In the *Decades Philosophiques*, in the *Mercure de France*, there is only one opinion on this subject :—‘The Germans have yet a notable want of delicate perception and taste.’ So far as philosophy is concerned, Herder has shown this beyond contradiction ; and when we set ourselves to anatomize our *Schöngeister*, our *lumina mundi*, we shall, in all probability, find not a little that leads to similar results."

"March 31st, 1802.

"The complaints about the long-windedness and ton-heavy dialogues of Schiller's latest piece are loud. So it must be ; *when a poet has no public with whom he is forced to speak, he is at last reduced to the necessity of speaking to himself* ; and, when it comes to this, long-windedness is the necessary consequence. The Schellingians say that Schiller is altogether without a living pictured world of sense (*habe ganz und gar keine sinnliche Anschauung*)—he has no world but the world within him,—only a few dim visions of military parades, which he had cause

enough to remember at Carlsruhe in his youth. His best productions, say they, are only piece-work. I do not know how far all this is true; but true it no doubt may be that many things in Wallenstein have been overvalued. But whom have we able to apply a criticism to this man in the way that would be useful? They are a set of downright blunderers. If we had only anything like true criticism we might yet do.

"Ever yours,

"K."

"P. S. What you say about Schiller, that his blunders are all brought about so conscientiously according to the rules of *art*, is excellent. D—mn all art!"\*

These remarks are very instructive. They certainly display great independence, great soundness, and at the same time great modesty of judgment. We are sorry that we have no space for further extracts of this kind. All Knebel's letters, especially those to Böttiger, will be found very interesting.

As a philosopher, Knebel is worthy of deep study; and not the less so, that he never put his opinions into a system. A meditative man, with a good stock of common sense, who had also seen a good deal of the world, and lived in the enjoyment of health and quietness for ninety long years, with nothing else to do than to think, must needs have thought no small quantity of sense in his day. He had some peculiar opinions; but his peculiarities were rather negative than positive, and did not in the least disturb the general clearness and soundness of his judgment. The third volume of the *Nachlass* contains pieces which, though mere fragments, will, if honestly studied, prove as good a discipline to the mind as Kant's *Criticism of Pure Reason*, or Jeremy Bentham's *Book of Fallacies*. We have already mentioned that Knebel cherished, or rather was haunted, by serious doubts as to the consoling doctrine of the immortality of the soul; but, if the scepticism of all unbelievers originated in the same modesty and the same elevation of mind, religion would have little to weep over, and the vulgar scoffer nothing to make a boast of. We give the following beautiful fragment, written in 1829, on this subject:—

"If men would take the trouble quietly to consider wherein the true happiness of life consists, they would be less discontented with it, and become less solicitous about its continued existence in a future state. Life is a gift. The smallest worm rejoices in it. The mere drawing of breath is not without a feeling of pleasure; but it is a pleasure too common, and not sufficiently intensive to deserve a separate name.

"Things are continually changing, and we cannot expect that they

\* This is not exactly German. It is the English phrase. The German, mingling a certain kindliness with his wrath, says, "Ach! die verdammte Kunst!"

should remain the same ; but what a blessing is it for us to be allowed to enjoy the continual changes of this great panorama ! How thankful ought we to be—who have no claims to existence at all—that the Supreme Power not only gives us to exist, but fills up our existence with the sportive show of many things both beautiful and grand !

“ What more is it then that we ask ? Is it not enough for this creature, man, that he is called, by unexpected mandate, into the midst of this glorious show of things ; and, instead of leaving wise Nature to her own influences, must he dictate ?—must he command ?

“ What am I ? and who am I ?—A phenomenon (*eine Erscheinung*) in the course of ages brought hither by a chance (*einen Zufall*), without knowing whence or whither. The concourse of elemental ingredients that has enabled me now, after such a long lapse of time, to feel my own identity as a separately existing being—what was it ? Is there any reason why I might not have come into existence as something else than what I now am ? And what was there in the peculiar circumstances of time and place accompanying my birth, that determined the energy of Nature to produce me, and nobody but me ? Glorious gift of the concurring elements !—my being, my understanding soul, waxing up almost out of nothing ! To feel, to think, to know—how wonderful ! In my mother's womb, what was I ?—a worm. Who built this wonderful machine ? who compacted together the joints of this strange phenomenon ? All without my knowledge, by internal plasticity, without aid from without. And yet I call it *mine* ; and yet it is, as it were, bound to *my* service.

“ Strange phenomenon ! and such is man ! He rules over every thing—over that which he does not even know, much less knows to give a name to.

“ What breath of God is here revealed ? This nothing—this bubble—sets up a claim of immortality. It is not enough for him to be allowed to enter this theatre as a stranger, to see the wonders of the world ; year after year to enjoy them, to use them for his own conveniences ; yea, even to come into a sort of communion with the Eternal—no ! this is not enough. He claims all this as his own unalienable property. What a demand ! ”

We add a few stray thoughts and sentiments, which may tend yet further to give an insight into the modest grandeur of this man's mind :—

#### THE ART OF LIFE.

“ The great art of life is to trust as little as possible to chance, but at the same time to allow every thing, as much as possible, to take its own course.”

#### ATHEISM.

“ I have often been not a little wrathful at the freedom with which the name of Atheist is bandied about by a certain class of half-thinkers. Here people are vainly engaged in the attempt to change our merely negative ideas of the Supreme Being into an affirmative personality, and

to give a definite figure to that which is in truth unpronounceable, as we often see done in children's books. If any person is modest enough to refrain from giving a name to the Infinite One, they straightway baptize him an Atheist. Did they not even presume to call the mighty intellect of Kant atheistic?"

MARTYRDOM.

"If I had spirit, strength, and energy enough, people would certainly crucify me. That is the true touchstone of what is excellent."

GOD.

"It is almost incredible how rational beings can entertain a doubt of the existence of a Being who fills the universe. This doubt, where it does exist, can arise only from weakness, or absolute defect of the reasoning power. But I can hardly believe that such a thing as an absolute Atheist, not insane, exists. The more narrow our reason is, we seek to make to ourselves some god that squares with our narrow conceptions. Our alleged no god is often only a peculiar god that we have created for ourselves.

"The Infinite we cannot understand, and therefore we have no clear idea of a universe—of a God. The attempt to supply this defect by earthly images and allegories sinks us only into the most absurd superstition. Worship the Infinite! and though thou canst not see him, yet his working is every where. He is the soul of the all. The highest equipoise of all things governs and determines universal nature. This is the ultimate law (*Grund*) of all being; thereby the world maintains itself. All individual qualities are lost in this one idea. We know the universe only by fragments, and of these fragments we make to ourselves images and idols.

"Nothing but the law of love can unite again that which the individualizing narrowness of man's mind has separated."

MATERIALISM AND SPIRITUALISM.

"If we wish to arrive at any thing like truth in metaphysical speculation, the old-established distinction of materialism and spiritualism must be altogether given up. There is only one true Being, or every thing is a dream. Who can say that he has examined into the qualities of matter? Do we know what that matter is of which we are continually prating? We always assume that the heavy clod of earth is the proper type of matter; but are we ignorant that the smallest atom of matter has its own inherent directing principle, so to say, its own atmosphere? To what else does electricity, magnetism, galvanism, point? That is a spiritual world, and who shall say how far up it goes, and how far down it sinks?

"We ought to reverse our whole fashion of looking at these things: we begin with the intellectual, where we ought to end. The lowest ought to be followed step by step, till we lose ourselves in the highest. We should then find some difficulty in determining, with our present dogmatism, where spirit begins and matter ends."

## THE END OF LIFE.

" So long as man does not perceive that the circle of his existence is completed in himself, and that the true aim of his life can only be attained by persevering self-perfectionation (*Vervollkommnung seiner selbst*), so long must he be driven about, amid a thousand errors more or less extravagant.

" To learn this is doubtless difficult ; and men will betake themselves to a thousand appearances of benefit, before they will content themselves with this only real solid happiness of human nature. But nothing else can be made of it, and the sooner we are wise the better."

## SUPERSTITION.

" It may sound strange, but I am obliged to recognize superstition as an inseparable element in the spiritual education of men. I assume three stages of man's existence ;—the animal ; the socializing, but not perfectly socialized ; the pure, or rational. The religion of the first stage is Fetism ; that of the second class aims at the satisfaction of spiritual wants ; but both are superstitious ; the religion of the third and last stage only is a pure and rational piety ; but practically, the piety even of this highest stage of humanity is always more or less mixed with superstition.

" Every man requires a *support* in life. He who does not find this support *within* himself must seek for it *without* himself. This is the origin of all superstition."

As a poet, Knebel belongs to the calm, clear, Greek school, which has lately become so unfashionable, but which we prize very highly. That mistiness of feeling, and wateriness of sentiment, which on a late occasion we condemned, as characteristic of the romantic school in Germany, finds no home in this pure region. Knebel is as far from romance as Göthe ; and, indeed, there is in his productions much of the spirit and character of Göthe's best minor poems. Knebel, however, has the moral element strong, which Göthe wants. The same calm, self-sustaining wisdom, and the same mild breath of cheerful kindness, is, however, characteristic of both. Both Göthe and Herder had a high opinion of Knebel's poems ; and if they do not live after many that are now fluttering through fifth, sixth, and seventh editions, futurity will not have paid her debt to the present. It may be, however, that they move in too high a region of pure contemplation ever to become very popular. As to the execution, they are harmonious and tasteful. Calm simplicity is their leading character ; and this simplicity is never disturbed by the ornamental adjunct of rhyme,—a modernism which Knebel's classical taste never could digest. Here follow two specimens, one of them in English elegiac verse after the original,—an experiment which we were willing to make by way of amusement, but which we are afraid no English ear will relish, charm we never so wisely.

The other translation is also rhymeless, according to Knebel's ideas,

‘MOONLIGHT.

“Darker than the day,  
Clearer than the night,  
Shines the mellow moonlight.

From the rocky heights  
Shapes in shimmer clad  
Mistily are mounting.

Pearls of silver dew,  
Soft-distilling, drop  
On the silent meadows.

Might of sweetest song  
With the gloomy woods  
Philomela mingleth.

Far in ether wide  
Yawns the dread abyss  
Of deep worlds uncounted.

Neither eye nor ear  
Seeking findeth here  
The end of mazy thinking.

Evermore the wheel  
Of unmeasured Time  
Turns round all existence.

And it bears away  
Swift, how swift! the prey  
Of fleet-flitting mortals.

Where soft breezes blow,  
Where thou seest the row  
Of smooth-shining beeches;

Driven from the flood  
Of the thronging Time,  
Lina's hut receives me.

Brighter than aloft  
In night's shimmering star,  
Peace with her is shining.

And the vale so sweet,  
And the sweet moonlight,  
Where she dwells, is sweeter.”

ADRASTEA.

“Ween ye that law and right and the rule of life is uncertain?  
Wild as the wandering wind, loose as the drift of the sand?

Fools ! look round and perceive an order and measure in all things !  
 Look at the herb as it grows, look at the life of the brute.  
 Every thing lives by a law, a central balance sustains all ;  
 Water, and fire, and air, wavy and wild though they be,  
 Own an inherent power that binds their rage ; and without it  
 Earth would burst every bond, ocean would yawn into hell.  
 Life and breath, what are they ? the system of laws that sustains thee  
 Ceases : and, mortal, say, whither thy being hath fled ?  
 What thou art in thyself is a type of the common creation,  
 For, in the universe, life, order, existence, are one.  
 Look to the world of mind ; hath soul no law that controls it ?  
 Elements many in one build up the temple of thought ;  
 And when the building is just, the feeling of truth is the offspring ;  
 Truth, how great is thy might ev'n in the breast of the child !  
 Constant swayeth within us a living balance that weighs all,  
 Truth and order and right, measures and ponders and feels.  
 Passions arouse the breast ; the tongue, swift-seized by the impulse.  
 Wisely (if wisdom there be) follows the law of the soul ;  
 Thus too ruleth a law, a sure law, deep in the bosom,  
 Blessing us when we obey, punishing when we offend.

Far by the sacred stream, where goddess Ganga is worshipped,  
 Dwells a race of mankind purer in heart and in life :  
 From the stars of the welkin they trace their birth ; and the ancient  
 Earth more ancient than they knoweth no people that lives.  
 Simple and sweet is their food ; they eat no flesh of the living,  
 And from the blood of the brute shrinks the pure spirit away ;  
 For in the shape of another it sees itself metamorphosed,  
 And, in the kindred of form, owneth a nature the same.  
 Children of happier climes ! of suns and moons that benignly  
 Shine, hath dew from above watered your sensitive souls ?  
 Say, what power of the gods hath joined your spirits in wedlock  
 To the delicate flowers, gentle and lovely as they ?  
 Under blossoming groves, and sweet and pregnant with ambra,  
 Gaugeth the spirit divine purer the measure of right ?  
 Pure is the being of God they teach, his nature is goodness :  
 Passions and stormy wrath stir not the bosom of Brahm.  
 But by the fate of the wicked the wicked are punished ; unfading  
 Sorrow and anguish of soul follow the doers of sin ;  
 In their bosom is hell, the sleepless voice of accusing  
 Speaks ; and gnaweth a worm, never, oh ! never to die."\*

Among these poems and prose fragments our readers will  
 doubtless have observed indications of a mind peculiarly fitted

\* N.B. This poem is *German* in many things besides the measure ; and the English  
 critic would do well to think seven times before he condemns it. We look upon it in  
 the original (however strangely it may sound to English ears) as a perfect gem of  
 philosophical poetry, only inferior to some of Göthe's unequalled elegies. We cer-  
 tainly do prefer the "*Metamorphose der Pflanzen*" to every thing in the contemplative  
 style of poetry we ever read.

by its habits of thought and philosophic sympathies to become the interpreter of Epicurean philosophy to modern times. A man should never read anything, said Göthe, but what he admires ; and, on the same principle, a man should never translate anything but what he sympathizes with ; and that not merely by a sympathy *pro hac vice*, as the lawyers say, artificial and momentary, but inmanent and permanent in the soul. Every good translation is a natural growth of the spiritual man, as much as a good original composition ; only here the plant grows by self-sustainment, whereas there it is propped up by a stick. Major Knebel was a living plant of Epicurean philosophy, cultivated and improved in a Christian soil ; but, wanting strength (or perhaps only imagining that he wanted strength) to grow alone, he leant upon the poem of Lucretius, and by this assistance grew up into a tree of a goodly size. We doubt much if the same can be said of any of our English translators, from Evelyn down to Busby. We rather fear (though it is certainly to the honour of British orthodoxy) that they were all mere translators in the common sense of that word. They did not translate the book "*De rerum naturâ*," as Carlyle translated *Wilhelm Meister*, because they were living in the element of Lucretius as he was living in the element of Göthe. If this be the case, we have what might be called an *à priori* reason why Knebel's translation must, *cæteris paribus*, necessarily be superior to any that we can yet boast of in the English language. But indeed England is not the place for translating philosophic poems. We are not a philosophic nation ; we have not a philosophic language ; we have not a philosophic public. Much less can such an ominous poem as Lucretius's "*De rerum naturâ*," which virtually denies the gods, and actually does deny the immortality of the soul, expect to find readers in this country. It is worse than *Queen Mab* ; mad, and triple mad. But in Germany these things are managed in a different fashion. There, where the outward world of action is governed by what (in Prussia at least) is allowed on all hands to be the *beau ideal* of a wise despotism, Nature seems to have wished to antagonize this one-sided development by establishing in the inward world of thought the perfection of a wise anarchy. We say a wise anarchy, because there is a great deal of wisdom at the bottom of what we English, in the pride of our mechanical conceit, are accustomed to call the nonsense of German metaphysics ; and what sounds at first as a mere blown-up mountain of vain words, or, worse perhaps, as the bold impiety of profane dogmatists, turns out in the end to be but a very sound, sober, truth, expressed in a metaphysical, perhaps also (childishly enough) in a paradoxical, way. However this be, certain it is, as

every body knows, Germany is the home of every sort of unwonted, erratic, exquisite speculation; and if Lucretius was destined to become naturalized among the moderns, there could be little doubt that Germany was the soil out of which he must grow. Indeed, when we consider the very great advantages the Germans possess in this respect over us, we shall find it, perhaps, the greatest wisdom to give up translating many things altogether, and take to learning German instead. German is the language of translations.\* But especially in poetico-metaphysical translations from the ancient languages, the sooner we give up our vain attempts the better; for if it is not sheer madness, it is at least sheer trifling to attempt competing with the Germans. A profound metaphysics is inwoven into the very form and texture of the German language. Not only the poetry, but the very common speech, of Germany is coloured by philosophy; and, *ex converso*, the German philosophy (if we except Immanuel Kant and Hegel) is for the most part highly poetical. What have we to set against this? We have no metaphysics at all; a very scant philosophy; a philosophical language yet more scant; and our philosophy (what little we have) has never been incorporated with our poetry. We have an instinctive national aversion to metaphysics in any shape. When it appears in our theology we call it atheism, when it appears in our poetry we call it the same, or, perhaps, as the case may be, only mysticism. We sent Gilbert Wakefield (honest Gilbert!) to study orthodoxy in the King's Bench prison; Percy Bysshe Shelley we marched off to Italy; and what we may make of Thomas Carlyle no man knows. What then have we to do with translating Lucretius?

\* It gives us pleasure to be able to annex here the testimony of Göthe on this subject, a man who, however weak Knebel might justly consider him to be in matters of political insight, was certainly the very best person in the world to give an opinion on the excellence of the German language as a translating medium.

"The English are quite right," said Göthe, "in applying themselves so diligently as they have recently done to the German language. It is not only that our language on its own account deserves this attention, but it is also impossible to deny, that he who now knows German well, may dispense with the knowledge of almost every other language. I do not here include the French, for that is the language of conversation, and is indispensable as a universal interpreter to every gentleman who moves beyond the four corners of his own home. As to Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish however, the principal works in these languages can be read in German translations as well as in the originals; and, unless he is reading with some very particular purpose, a German scholar may reasonably spare himself the long labour of learning these languages. It is a peculiarity of the German mind to give its due and natural value to what is foreign, and to accommodate itself to the particular character of every kind of national poetry, This, taken along with the great power and flexibility of our tongue, renders German translations as perfect in the whole as they are accurate in the detail. Nor can it be denied (whatever the pedantry of mere scholarship may pretend) that a good translation, to all practical purposes, will bring a man as far as the original."—Eckermann's *Gespräche*.

But there is another formidable difficulty in our way; and here again the Germans have travelled so far that it is impossible for us to overtake them; or rather, they are travelling upon a road on which it is impossible for us to follow them. The Germans have not only a flexibility and ductility of poetical language superior to what any other modern tongue can boast, but they have triumphantly freed themselves from what are commonly called (and, in the face of much contradiction, we still believe are most properly called) the shackles of rhyme. We are worshippers of that sweet-singing Syren; and the consequence is, that we are often found playing at see-saw, or fencing elegantly with mere sound, when we ought to be on the march. We are apt to look upon rhyme (except in the case of a few stately epics) as almost *inter essentialia* of classical poetry. A pregnant heresy! for, in original composition, it may make dwarfs of many giants; and, in translating from the antique, it will, nine times out of ten, produce a monster. Thanks to Shelley, and Coleridge, and Southey, we are no more such smooth, gilded slaves in metrical matters as we were at the end of the late century; but we are so conservative, so statutory, so anti-plastic in our linguistical ideas, that the "Lakers" still remain with the mass of us mere Lakers, and not Britons: rhyme and syllable-counting still sway the rod of criticism; and the consequence is, that we are nearly as far removed from perfection in the art of translating from the ancient languages, as we were when Pope translated Homer. That that translation (so excellent when viewed as an original poem) should still be considered by many "as the most excellent translation which the world ever saw,"\* is one of the worst symptoms of our disease. We are still not content to do into English; we must also Anglicize. We are still too artificial to take the "divine swineherd" simply and nakedly as a divine swineherd. We must dress him, and brush him, and polish him, before he is fit to enter into genteel society. But, even supposing we had altogether shaken off this hereditary disease of our translated literature, (and we are willing to think that great progress has of late been made in the right path,) there still remains a hindrance in the mechanism of our language, which renders it impossible for us to compete with the Germans. We cannot re-echo the ancient measures. Let no one think that this is a slight matter. In itself, indeed, abstractly considered, it is of no consequence; but, when we consider for a moment its practical working, we shall soon see that it is a matter of very serious importance. For, in the first place, the measure is very often essential to the

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\* Preface to Drummond's *Lucretius.*

character of the poem (just as a proud man strides, and a merry man dances); and, in the next place, adherence to the measure of the original has a great tendency to ensure accuracy; and accuracy in a translation (as in all copies) is the first, and the second, and the third thing.\* Perhaps the demand of accuracy may not be enforced so strictly upon the translator of a modern poem. Here, where translator and translated belong to the same era of mental development, are encircled with the same atmosphere of imaginative association, and speak (in one sense) the same poetical language, there is less danger of any foreign and incongruous element being inoculated upon the work in the process of transmutation; but, in translations from the antique, every thing modern (which is so apt to insinuate itself) must always appear as a patch; or, at all events, the copy may be tinted and coloured throughout in a modern style, which is perhaps worse than patchwork. No person, who is even superficially acquainted with English and German translations from the ancient languages, will fail to perceive how these remarks apply to them; but, as the subject is one of great importance, and bears immediately upon the translation of Lucretius, which is now before us, we shall consider it our duty to hear what von Kuebel himself has to say on the subject. It is Böttiger who narrates.

" When Madam de Staël was with us in 1803-4, engaged in the preliminary studies to her great work on Germany, her attention was particularly directed to the capacity of the German language to echo back the distichs of the ancient languages in the original measures. To this she always answered with an incredulous smile, and said that the motion of such verses must always be about as smooth as that of a cart upon a moss-road. Knebel, who was at that time living among the mountains at Ilmenau, having been informed of the French lady's incredulity, advised his friends in Weimar to try the experiment of declaiming continually in her ear the well-known distich of Schiller,—

‘ In dem Hexameter steigt des Springquell's flüssige Säule,  
Im Pentameter drauf fällt sie melodisch hinab,’†

and request her to express the same sense in two Alexandrines. But

\* Rambler, in one of his letters to Knebel, has the following sensible remark: " You know as well as I do, dear Knebel, how poets, especially those who have power, fire, and invention, are accustomed to manage translations. They express themselves most elegantly, write the most beautiful verses, pregnant with the most excellent meaning, only not the meaning of the author. I prefer the dry word-mongery of a mere lexicographer to such translations." — *Nachlass*, vol. ii. p. 42.

† This distich is familiar to the English ear from Coleridge's beautiful translation:—

“ In the hexameter rises the water's silvery column;  
In the pentameter aye falling in harmony back.”

Let this excuse our “ *Adrastra*,” though *passibus, heu! quam inquis!* ”

Madame de Staël, though assisted by Benjamin Constant, who was then engaged in translating Wallenstein, with all her cleverness, could not make the Alexandrines, in this case, obedient to her will; at which Knebel was of course very much delighted. He was, however, by no means blind to the very great difficulty of making our rough Teutonic dialect as smooth and flexible as it is strong. He made bitter lamentations on the want of spondees, on the superabundance of monosyllables, as compared with the Greek (e. g. for *τοραμὸς*, *πόλεμος*, *Fluss*, *Krieg*), on the inconvenience of the innumerable prefixes and affixes, which are continually jumping about, right and left, when no one is wanting them; but he was, at the same time, not to be shaken in the belief that a middle way could be maintained, between the heavy hammering of Voss's stiff formality, and the loose draggling slovenliness of our vulgar hexametrists. He was also continually insisting on the incalculable evil that resulted from poetry being written more for the eye than for the ear—being transplanted from life and nature to the desk of a mere scholar. 'There ought to be less reading,' he said, 'and more recitation. The evil has its root in our pedantic system of education, and in the inattention of mothers to that which they have so much in their power, viz. the formation of the vocal organs of their children.' 'Is there no *Cornelia*, amongst us?' he used to exclaim, with indignation; and Jean Paul's 'Levana' (about which Herder and Knebel had had many conversations before it came out) was then spoken of, and the due need of praise awarded."

To turn from these general observations to that out of which they immediately arose, viz. Knebel's translation of Lucretius. After a careful examination we have no hesitation in saying, that this production is not only in all respects equal, but in some points superior, to its original.\* This is saying much; but if

\* This was also the opinion of Wieland, whose remarks on this subject, though somewhat long, we shall here transcribe at length. In the second volume of the Correspondence, p. 215, we find the following letter, dated 7th July, 1803.

"Dear Knebel—Your translation of Lucretius, so far as I can judge from the first book, is a master-piece, in which acumen, tact, taste, and iron laboriousness are equally pre-eminent. Such a translation is worth the best original; yea, considering the unspeakable difficulties with which you must have had to contend, and which you have overcome as successfully as boldly, of more value than an original, far superior to Lucretius himself. I am much mistaken if you have not performed a task much more difficult than any that Voss has attempted. That you have left your excellent predecessor Meineke a hundred parasangs behind you, is the least that I can say to do you common justice. I have compared your work carefully with the original, and have found it (unless where everything was so excellent a few *macule* might remain invisible), in every respect so accurate, so energetic, so spirited, and so characteristically *Lucretian*, that I have no words to express to you my admiration, or (what is perhaps better) my complete satisfaction. What pleases me peculiarly, among other things, is this, that though you are using a language far more cultivated than what Lucretius employed, still you have contrived to preserve the austere simplicity, and, if I may so speak, the rust-colour (*Rost-farbe*) of the ancient original. In this regard I may say that, I praise you even more for what you have not done than for what you have done. To make a beautified periphrasis of such a poet as *Lucretius* is very obvious

the scholar reflects for a moment on the superior power of the German language, he will not be surprised that such should be the result. The opinion of Wieland on this subject we have given in a note below, and his opinion so entirely coincides with our own, that we have very little to add to it. We shall merely direct attention to one circumstance not expressly alluded to by Wieland, viz. "that Knebel is not only more clear in the difficult passages of his author, but he is more *pregnant* in all the metaphysical passages." This the richness of his language has done for him, and it is doubtless an improvement upon the original, without leading in any respect to a change in its essential character. The remark of Wieland about a "beautified periphrasis" is all-important, and most heartily do we coincide with it. Some men in translating Æschylus would make him as smooth as Gray, and as full of point as Pope. This is to change Mirabeau into Sir Robert Peel, or something yet more absurd. The system of improving a rough old Roman by the smoothness of modern rhymes, and plastering over a granite rock with the gold-leaf of drawing-room versification, is too common among our translators, and altogether to be reprobated. But it is nevertheless possible in some accessory *minutiae* to improve upon an original, without sinning against the integrity of his natural character. A translation of Lucretius into Greek by an ancient Epicurean poet, if well executed, would certainly, so far as philosophical language went, have been a great improvement upon the original, and yet the rude, rough grandeur of the Lucretian style might have been preserved. Even so in the German translation, the language necessarily brings with it a deeper pregnancy of philosophical expression, and yet the character of the poet remains unchanged. The fine swell of the compound words, (e. g. in the line,

"*Das schiff-tragende Meer, und die frûchte-gebärende Erde,*")

even when the phrase is not metaphysical, appears in every page of the German translation; and for this the English translator

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and very easy; but to make a translation, such as yours appears to me to be, which, with conscientious accuracy, characteristic truth, and sure taste, unites the freedom and ease of an original composition, is a work of no common merit. But notwithstanding your faithfulness, you have in one thing certainly improved upon the original. You are far more clear and intelligible in the difficult passages. Lucretius had to work with a hard and knotty language; and in the tongue of mere soldiers he had to express the difficult abstractions of the Epicurean philosophy. Here you have immeasurably the advantage of him, and let me add that, when all commentary is vain, a certain happy divination seems to have accompanied and enabled you to penetrate the mysteries of the Epicurean philosophy, and to evolve the true meaning of your author."

has nothing to give but some pretty poetical common-place, or he must draw the energetic compound out into a long and weak periphrasis. It deserves to be remarked also, how much the German richness in diminutives affects the beauty of poetical language. In explaining the Anaxagorean doctrine of *Homœomeria* (book i.), Knebel has in this respect far the advantage of his original. Within the space of a few lines we have "*Knöchlein*," and "*Tröpflein*," and "*Pünktchen*," and "*Fünkchen*," all most expressive and most appropriate. But it is in metaphysical language chiefly that German poetry so far transcends the capacity of every other; and, for example, by the skilful use of the two roots "*Ur*" and "*Grund*," and their compounds, Knebel has been enabled to produce a total effect in his translation which we miss even in Lucretius. The "immortal seeds" of Creech is a poor surrogate for the "*dauernder Grundstoff*" of Knebel, and even the "*æterna materies*" of Lucretius is weak. But what shall we say to "*Urstoff*," and "*Urelemente*, and *Uranfänge*," and "*Uranfängliche Theile der Dinge*," and "*Ursprungstheile*," and "*Urkraft*," and "*Urwesen*," and the numberless other members of the family of *Ur* in which the German language abounds? And does not Busby's "senseless seeds" appear senseless when set against "*die blinden Körper des Urstoffs*," which Knebel has so accurately at once and so happily given for the "*primordia cæca*" of Lucretius. Drummond has here "senseless atoms," which is perhaps better than seeds. Creech has "unseen atoms," which is perfectly consistent with the philosophy of Lucretius, for he speaks of the atoms as invisible; but does not "*cæcus*" seem to imply "unseeing" rather than "unseen;" and, in the doubtful meaning of a peculiar phrase, is it not always better to leave it as it is, than, by translation, to smuggle in perhaps a false commentary upon it? But it would be endless to show in detail the superiority of the German translation in all points of metaphysical language. Besides the compounds of *Ur* just mentioned, we have in the first book several pregnant compounds of *Grund*—such as "*Grundelement*"—"*Grundursache*"—"*Grundmaterie*"—"*Grundkraft*"—besides "*Grundstoff*" mentioned before, and that excellent word "*Stoff*" itself, and its no less excellent plural "*Stölfe*."

It is not our intention to enter minutely into the merits of Knebel's translation. That would require a separate article. We may, however, be allowed to test one very simple passage, (and it is not a passage studiously sought out for the purpose of panegyrizing Kuebel,) as it occurs in some of the most noted translations. Among the English translations we have not seen Evelyn's and Good's.

## LUCRETIUS.—Book i. p. 121.

“ *Etsi præterea tamen esse Acherusia templa*  
*Ennius æternis exponit versibus edens,*  
*Quo neque permanent animæ neque corpora nostra,*  
*Sed quædam simulacra modis pallentia mirie;*  
*Unde sibi exortam, semper florentis Homeri*  
*Commemorat speciem lacrymas effundere salsas*  
*Cœpisse, et rerum naturam expandere dictis.*”

## KNEBEL.

“ Dennoch gedenket auch er in seinen unsterblichen Versen  
*Acherusischer Räume*, wohin nicht Körper noch *Geist* dringt;  
 Sondern nur *Schattengebilde von bleichem schaurigen Ansehn*.  
 Dorther, sey, wie er sagt, des ewig blühenden Homerus  
*Schattengestalt* ihm erschienen, die *heisse Thränen vergossen*,  
 Und ihm habe der Dinge Natur in Worten eröffnet.”

## MARCHETTI.

“ *Bench' ei nei dotti versi affermi ancora*  
*Che sulle sponde d' Acheronte s' erge*  
*Un Tempio sacro agli infernali Dei,*  
*Ove non l' ulme, o i corpi nostri stanno;*  
*Ma certi simulacri in ammirande*  
*Guise pallid' in volto, e qui vi narra*  
*Dell' immortale Omero essergli apparsa*  
*L' imagine piangendo, e di Natura*  
*A lui svelando i piu riposti arcani.*”

## CREECH.

“ Though he in lasting numbers does express  
 The stately *Acherusian palaces*,  
 Which neither soul nor body e'er invades,  
 But certain pale and melancholy shades;  
 From whence he saw old Homer's ghost arise,  
*An august shade! down from whose reverend eyes,*  
 While his learned tongue Nature's great secrets told,  
*Whole streams of tears in mighty numbers rolled.*”

## BUSBY.

“ Wild Acheron in never-dying lays,  
 And the *Acherusian temples*, he displays.  
 His daring strains those unknown realms disclose  
 Where nor the *flicting ghost*, nor body, goes,  
 But certain pallid shades; from thence he saw  
 Great Homer's form arise with sacred awe;  
*August he stood—big tears begin to flow*  
*While Nature's secrets in his bosom glow.*”

## DRUMMOND.

“ And yet he sung in never dying strains  
 Of night's dark realms and *Acherusian fances*,

Where nor our bodies nor our *souls* can glide,  
 But *shades* alone of wondrous paleness bide.  
 Whence to his fancy Homer's *spectre* rose,  
*Immortal bard!* th' effusion of his woes  
 Down his pale cheeks a briny torrent ran—  
 Rapt as he sung the universal plan."

Now this seems, and actually is, a very easy passage, so far as the gross scope of the meaning is concerned. But it is in his fine and delicate touches that the hand of a master is discerned; and here we think Knebel has carried off the prize from all his competitors. In the first place, with regard to the "*Acherusia templæ*," unless our *Latinity* sadly deceives us, Knebel is right in keeping to the general expression "*Räume*," instead of giving us the particular idea of a modern temple built with hands. The *augurs*, as every school-boy knows, used to name the regions of the heavens "*templæ*," and this is exactly what the Germans express by *Himmelsräume*." It seems extremely doubtful whether Lucretius uses "*templæ*" here in any other sense than this; and in another passage in the same book, where the phrase, "*coeli tonitralia templæ*" occurs, we rather think Knebel is again right in translating "*Des Himmels Donnergewölbe*." At all events, Creech's "*stately palaces*" is something far too definite (besides not being *true*) for the Latin "*templæ*." Marchetti ruins the whole mythology of the passage, by converting it into "*a temple sacred to the infernal gods*;" and if Knebel be right, as we imagine both philology and mythology teach, then Busby and Drummond must be wrong. But the most nice distinctions follow. We have three Latin words, "*anima*," "*simulacrum*," and "*species*," the two latter expressing the same thing, and the former a different thing. All the translators, except Busby, have the common sense to retain the natural opposition of "*soul*" and "*body*" expressed by "*anima*" and "*corpus*;" Busby wishing, as he often does, to take a flight above the vulgar, "*has given us*" "*flitting ghost*," and thereby confounded all the nice distinctions of the original. The words "*simulacra*" and "*species*," answering to the Greek "*ειδωλον*," are very difficult to render in modern phrase. "*Shade*" is the best and perhaps the only word that we have; for "*ghost*" (which Creech uses) is full of modern associations, and has far too much of the German "*Gespenst*" in its constitution. The barbarous Gothic ideas which the word "*Gespenst*" expresses, ought by all means to be kept out of a classical picture; but Drummond, as if wishing to try how far a modern colouring may be allowed to wipe out the clear outlines of an ancient conception, has given us the monstrous line—

"Whence to his *fancy* Homer's *spectre* rose,"

in which there is a double error. "Spectre" is the very worst word that could have been chosen; and then the solemn apparition is evaporated into a mere whim or fancy, very becoming in a modern Rationalist, but altogether out of place in an ancient poet. Marchetti has kept clear of this barbarous confusion of ancient and modern ideas, by the happy resemblance which his language bears to the antique. "Simulacro" and "Imagine" are free from the objections that lie against "ghost" and "spectre." Busby has given us "form," which we think bald in English. The German alone could give us two pregnant words, far more expressive than our own "shade," both the same in one sense, and yet different, "Schattengestalt" and "Schattenbild." Nothing could be better than this.

This passage, short as it is, supplies us with another remark. Creech, wishing to beautify, as Weiland would say, or rather to *sublimify*, the grief of Homer, gives us the sounding lines:—

"An august shade! down from whose reverend eyes  
Whole streams of tears in mighty numbers rolled"—

a piece of bombastical bad taste, of which there is not a trace in the simple phrase of Lucretius, who merely says that "the shape of the ever-flourishing Homer arose and wept salt tears." In this chaste simplicity he has been followed only by Knebel and Marchetti. The name of Homer blows up all the three Englishmen into a poetic exclamation of "august," "immortal," or such like. Busby is filled "with sacred awe;" *big* tears (though not quite so large as Creech's rivers) begin to flow, and

"Nature's secrets in his bosom glow."

This last line, like many of Busby's fine things, is perfect absurdity; for Lucretius had no occasion to say that the love of nature was glowing secretly in Homer's bosom, (this he might have supposed in the case of a poet,) but he was saying that nature's secrets came out of Homer's mouth for the instruction of Ennius.

And now our task is ended; a short course hastily run over, but sufficient for our purpose, which was merely this,—to tell those who might not know it, that under the name of Knebel one of those pure and elevated spirits has lived and died upon German ground, whose existence is an honour to our nature, and the pledge of its highest anticipations. Germany has, indeed, many such spirits to boast of; but Karl von Knebel is, for many reasons, particularly deserving of our study. He does not indeed, like his own Epicurus, pilot our roving flight "extra flammantia moenia mundi;" nor, like Schelling, pretend to explain the philosophy of the absolute; nor, like Fichte, to create

Deity out of the omnipotence of the Ego ; nor, like Hegel, to show how, in the course of time, the Supreme Being arrives at a consciousness of himself ; nor, like Kant, how the Categorical Imperative has mighty influence to freeze every feeling that animates the bosom, except the one emotion of reverence for the law ; but he is merely a simple-minded man, who stands upon the solid earth where Providence has placed him, and looks round upon the many colours of this world of light with an observant eye and a cheerful heart. He is so thankful for the gift of existence, that he does not even venture, in moments of quiet enjoyment of the present, to hope for what seems to be a part of the universal creed of humanity—the separate existence of the soul in a more happy futurity. Such scepticism is certainly amiable, even when its doubts are unfounded. At all events Knebel knew—and we all know to our consolation—that the immortality of the soul does not depend upon our believing it, or upon our disbelieving it, but upon the will of God. This ought to be enough for every pious philosopher. Happily the spirit of Knebel now wanders in pure regions, no longer requiring any arguments to convince it of immortality ; and if so, he must now perceive fully the folly of men tormenting themselves, in this imperfect state, with the discussion of questions, however important, the solution of which depends not upon their reason, but upon the Providence of God. They to whom Christianity does not give an assurance of "life and immortality," sufficient to dispel all lurking doubts and suspicions on so fathomless a subject, have only to rely, with cheerful resignation, on the wise disposal of the Supreme Being. If we take care to do right *here*, there can be no doubt that God will do right *there*. Meanwhile, let us cherish kindly the memory of all our great and good men, for they are "the salt of the earth," and, by their own existence and their own actions, furnish us with a proof of the higher destination of the human soul, greater perhaps than all the objections which their anxious scepticism can raise against it. We have little doubt, indeed, that the name of Karl von Knebel will live not only in Germany, but in Europe ; were it only by that fragment of his being, the translation of Lucretius. But the works of great men are not like pictures in a picture-gallery, hung up one here and one there, accessory and adventitious ; they are like leaves of a plant, all parts of one beautiful organization. And we are much deceived if Knebel be not one of those plants, which it is impossible to examine, even in the minutest leaf, without feeling a desire to trace to the root the whole process of its metamorphosis.

ART. II.—1. *Guida dell' Educatore, foglio mensuale, compilato da Raffaello Lambruschini.* Firenze, 1837.

2. *Rapporto presentato dai Segretarj alla Società per la diffusione del metodo di reciproco insegnamento, al principio dell' anno 1836.* (Not published.)

3. *Terzo Rapporto sopra gli Asili infantili di Firenze.* 1837.

4. *Rapporto e Regolamenti degli Asili infantili di Carità per le Femmine in Livorno.* 1836.

5. *Intorno alla Fondazione, ed allo Stato attuale, degli Asili di Carità per l'Infanzia, in Milano.* Milano, 1837.

THE neighbouring countries of Europe, which have become in many respects so familiar to us during above twenty years of peace and of increasing intercourse, still present a wide field for important researches to those who, not content with observing only the outward aspect of manners or of nature, or enjoying the treasures of art which they may contain, will penetrate beneath the surface and investigate their social condition. There are many important questions which are now forcing themselves, in a greater or less degree, on the attention of all the nations composing the great European family, and the traveller who will collect accurate information as to the progress which different countries have made in their solution, may be assured that he is spending his time in a manner not unprofitable to his own country, and making a valuable contribution to the materials of sound legislation. Circumstances have developed different institutions, as Nature has distributed various products in different countries, and each, by availing itself of the experience of its neighbours, may avoid many mistakes, and advance with a surer and more rapid step in the career of improvement.

Amongst the questions most interesting to humanity which are chiefly agitated at present, we may specify particularly such as relate to the condition of those who form the most numerous class in every society, such as the policy of a legal provision for the poor, commerce and industry, popular education, the wages of labour, the prices of the necessaries of life, the employments of the labouring classes, the amount of property possessed by them, savings' banks, and many other particulars which will suggest themselves to all who take an interest in the progress of human improvement.

That there is a progressive improvement in the organization of society throughout Europe, we think few will be found to question, and among the many indubitable proofs of this cheering fact, which we derive from the advance of science, the amelioration of laws, the obliteration of prejudices and of barbarous

animosities, as nations become better acquainted,—no circumstance appears to us more striking, none fraught with more certainty of happiness to mankind, than that conviction of the supreme importance of popular education, which is now awakening on all sides. For the progress of the higher sciences, and the more ornamental branches of education, our forefathers have made magnificent provision; but it is chiefly to the present century that must be awarded the honour of endeavouring to render instruction a universal blessing, and to adapt it to elevate the moral character and to improve the happiness and comfort of the humblest members of society. In our own country, however, we may hitherto boast more of isolated efforts and experiments than of the actual establishment of a well-proportioned system of popular education, and for us of this generation has been reserved the glorious task of laying the foundations, at least, of an edifice, commensurate with the just demands of the most numerous classes of our countrymen. In this position of things any information becomes valuable as to the exertions making in foreign countries towards the attainment of the same object, in order that the example and experience of other nations may encourage and direct us, in a work of such magnitude and importance.

In a former Number we gave an account of the state of elementary instruction in Germany. From Switzerland, where perhaps everything relating to popular education may be best studied, we hope soon to have some interesting details in a report which will shortly be made on the subject to the French government by M. Dumont, who has been travelling there for that purpose during the past summer. Had an individual been selected for this duty better acquainted with German, the language of the majority of the inhabitants of that country, his task would perhaps have been more satisfactorily executed. The system established in France, upon the information hastily collected on that subject by Baron Cousin, in his rapid journey through Germany, has been so short a time in operation, that the intentions of M. Guizot (at that time minister of public instruction), rather than the practical effect of the measure, comprise all that is yet to be known on the subject.

The law which first established one uniform system for the elementary education of the whole of the lower orders in France bears date July, 1833. By this law it is provided, that within six years from that date, every one of the 37,263 communes into which France is divided must possess at least one elementary school (*école primaire*).\* Towards those built within the six

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\* In 1830, only 22,992 communes possessed elementary schools, so that more than

years the state furnishes one-third of the expense. The management of these schools is in the hands of a committee of the commune (*comité communale*), consisting of three or four inhabitants, of whom the mayor, the priest, or the Protestant *pasteur*, if there be one, are members *ex officio*, the others being appointed by the committee of the arrondissement. This latter committee has a *veto* upon the appointment of the schoolmaster (*instituteur*) selected by the communal committee. This superior committee consists of those who have been chosen by the arrondissement as representatives in the *conseil général du département*, and of one schoolmaster named by the *sous-préfet*. The master's salary arises from two sources, being partly fixed, of which the minimum is 200fr. (about 8*l.*) a year, besides which each scholar pays something monthly. The commune is obliged by law to furnish lodging for the schoolmaster and his family, and if it cannot afford the whole of the fixed salary, it must contribute towards it at least three centimes for every franc of taxes which it pays to the government. To complete the 200fr. the department may be called upon by the communes within it which are deficient, to distribute among them as much as two centimes for every franc of government taxes. Should any deficiency yet remain unprovided for, it is made up from the public revenue. As to the other portion of the master's salary, viz. that contributed by the scholars, it is fixed by the *conseil municipal* of the commune. This *conseil* may divide the scholars into classes, paying different sums for their instruction, and may even allow some children of the poorest inhabitants to frequent the school gratuitously. This power is found to require to be more strictly limited, since in places where a prejudice exists against education, as is not rare in France, the commune, by allowing an undue number of children to be educated gratis, attempt to take back with one hand the 200fr. which they have been obliged to give with the other. From these two sources the average salary of a master was stated to us to be in the south of France about 400fr. a year (16*l.*), a sum utterly insufficient to secure the services of a person competent for so important an office, or to enable him to support the station in which the law ranks him as equal to the mayor and the parish priest.

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one-third of the communes were without any.—Degerando, *Report to the Society of Public Instruction*.

In 1837, amongst 326,298 young men of all classes included in the lists of those of proper age for the conscription for the French army, 45.79 per cent., or nearly one half could not read or write. The year before, the proportion of uninstructed was nearly the same, viz. 45.84 per cent. To remedy this deficiency two regimental schools, one for soldiers and the other for non-commissioned officers, are established in each regiment.—See *Journal de l'Instruction Publique*, for May 21, 1837.

In order to procure a supply of masters properly prepared, a school for their education (*école normale*) is established in each department; but the demand as yet exceeds what these schools can furnish, that for the department of Vaucluse, for instance, not producing above ten a year. Those intended for masters remain two years at these establishments, to which a school for exercising them in the practice of teaching (*école d'application*) is attached. In order to induce young men to adopt this profession, those who engage to serve as masters in an *école primaire* for ten years are exempted from conscription for the army.

The children are admitted to primary schools at six years of age, but the irregularity of their attendance is frequently such as to cause them to forget, during the months that they are absent, all they have previously learned. Some persons see no other remedy for this than the German system of making it obligatory on the parents to send them, from the age of six to ten, without interruption. All that has been hitherto stated applies to boys' schools only, it having been found impossible to oblige the communes to furnish the expenses of those for girls also. To encourage those which are disposed to afford education to girls, the government offers half the expenses of these schools. It was the wish of the government, in accordance with the ideas of Madame Pellet de la Lozère, that ladies should be induced to form communal committees for the superintendence of female and infant schools, similar to those of the other sex for boys; but the plan has entirely failed.

We come now to consider the amount of instruction afforded to boys in the primary schools. It comprehends reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and geography. Though it was M. Guizot's wish that moral and religious instruction should be the most prominent part of the education given in these schools, we were sorry to learn, from a zealous agent of that minister in the south of France, that "*l'instruction morale et religieuse y est nulle.*" A curé may have six, and a Protestant pasteur as many as eight, communes in his parish, so that some cannot, and others will not, instruct the children in these subjects; while such is the incompetence of the masters to supply the deficiency, that it has been forbidden them to attempt to explain the selections from the Bible which the children read, but which there can be little hope that they understand.

It was the intention of government that the mutual or monitorial system of instruction should be employed in these primary schools, but the irregularity of attendance has in many cases prevented this, by rendering it impossible to form a competent body of monitors. They are consequently taught simultaneously in

classes. There appears also to exist some jealousy on the part of the Catholics to this system, which is never adopted in the schools under the direction of the *Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne*.

For the purpose of obtaining a unity of system in these schools, and to superintend the conduct of the communal committees and of the masters, the minister of public instruction appoints eighty inspectors, making about one for each of the eighty-six departments. These inspectors are immediately subordinate to the préfet of the department in all that regards finance, and to one of the twenty-four rectors of academies for what regards education. Their duty is to visit each school in their department at least once a year, and to examine the children and every thing connected with its concerns, pointing out in writing to the communal committee any defects which require to be remedied, of which document a copy is retained by the inspector to be referred to on the next yearly visit. They have the power to assemble the *conseil municipal*, to receive complaints of the master, and to report him to the *comité d'arrondissement*, by whom he may be dismissed. An inspector has a fixed salary of 2000 fr. (£80) a year; and, in addition, three fr. (half-a-crown) a day for travelling expenses when on his circuit; and one franc for every school visited. Altogether from 9200 to 3500 fr. (£130 to £140) per annum.\*

For the purpose of affording a more enlarged course of instruction to artizans, manufacturers, and master-workmen, it was originally intended that, in all communes containing above 6000 inhabitants, there should be a public secondary school, intermediate between the elementary ones and the Royal Colleges, of which there are twenty-four in France. These have, however, never come into operation, the necessity of them having been in some measure obviated by the opening of a short course, called a *cours spécial*, in the royal colleges, a course of study which lasts only three, instead of eight years, the time required to pass through the regular college education. This course of secondary instruction comprises modern languages, history, and geography, grammar, and composition, book-keeping, drawing, chemistry applied to the arts, elementary geometry and mensuration, and the elements of natural history.

Such are the beginnings which have been made in France towards a general system of national education for the whole

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\* It is proposed in the budget of this year to increase the funds allowed for inspection from 240,000 to 430,000 fr. so as to enable the inspectors to employ the services of sub-inspectors, their duties being found too arduous to be performed without assistance.

people. That it presents considerable deficiencies, will be allowed by all who have formed a due estimate of the magnitude of the object which it is proposed to effect, particularly in the absence of moral and religious instruction,—in the impossibility hitherto experienced in establishing the mutual or monitorial method of teaching,—and in the total want, in many places, of public education for females and infants. Neither can we consider any system perfect which does not embrace the education of the ear and voice, and the cultivation of the taste, by affording instruction in singing. Sufficient acquaintance with music, to be able to sing together correctly in chorus, may be acquired by at least three-fourths of a given number of individuals during the period of their ordinary schooling, as is proved in Germany and Switzerland. A faculty is thus acquired which conduces essentially to the morality of places where it is generally exercised, by affording an innocent, tasteful, and economical amusement on Sundays and holidays, which replaces the less improving indulgences of the beer-shop. At the same time, by furnishing the children's memory with moral and patriotic songs, many exalted feelings may be inspired into them, which dry didactic teaching might have failed to produce. That singing forms a delightful part of the religious exercises of all Christians, should also surely cause the cultivation of this talent to occupy a more conspicuous place in the education, not only of the lower, but of all classes, than it now does in England. How mortified have we often felt on entering the English chapel after leaving a church in Switzerland, where the children assembled to be catechized had, with no other music than their own voices, under the leading of a clerk, offered a melodious tribute of praise to their Creator! In our own congregation a dull organ was going through the notes of a psalm, all the congregation standing in solemn silence, not a single voice answering to the invitation, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God."

But, to return to the French schools, the indifference in seconding the views of government, which has made the introduction of general education in France difficult and imperfect, seems to be traceable to that baneful system of centralization which prevails in that country, and which, by taking all independent authority out of the hands of individuals or corporations, and vesting the direction of all local interests in the agents of government, has tended to deprive her citizens of the habit of concerning themselves about their local affairs. It constantly obliges them to expect from government, and not from their own energies, the supply of every want; so that where the zealous concurrence of the public is required for the success of any mea-

sure, little aid from this quarter is to be expected; and, indeed, an actual spirit of resistance is often excited by the attempt to force on the people benefits of which they have not learned, by discussion among themselves, to feel the necessity. It is to be hoped, therefore, that, whenever we adopt a plan of general education, it may be one which shall call into operation that willingness to discharge a public duty, that strong public spirit, which a long habit of independently directing our own local affairs has widely spread over our country. We must combine the advantages of a general *surveillance*, and a central directing power, with a freedom of local action, so that the administration of the means of education may be left as much as possible in the direction of the population for whose benefit they are intended.

Another direction in which the German system of popular education has extended itself is Italy, where the Austrian government has the credit of having introduced it into Lombardy fourteen years ago.

The population of this country amounted in 1835 to 2,455,539, comprised in 2233 comuni, forming nine provinces. The general introduction of elementary schools in Lombardy commenced in 1822. Two objects are proposed in their establishment: the first being to afford to the humblest class, both agricultural and manufacturing, instruction adapted to their condition; and the second, to furnish the youth of the middle classes with an education which shall fit them for pursuing commerce, agriculture, or the useful arts.

For the first object are designed the lesser elementary schools (called *scuole minori*,) in which are received separately children of each sex between the ages of six and twelve.\* The instruction which they here receive comprises religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, the first rudiments of grammar; and for the girls, needle-work and knitting. They are divided into two classes, and the course of instruction is complete in three years at most.

For the children of those above the lowest classes there are higher schools, (called *scuole maggiori*,) some of which are divided into three classes, and some into four. The first are for both sexes, the latter only for boys. In the two first classes of all these schools the instruction is the same as that in the lesser schools; in the third class is taught caligraphy, composition, the higher parts of arithmetic applied practically to the necessities of life; and in the female schools, fine needle-work and embroi-

\* By art. Ixiii. of the law of 1822, all fathers of families are compelled to send their children to these schools, (unless they are educated elsewhere,) under pain of a fine for every month's neglect.—*Annali di Statistica*, vol. xxxix. p. 80.

dery. In the boys' schools, which have four classes, the preceding branches of instruction are followed by a course which lasts two years, in which are taught the elements of geometry, natural history, and mechanics, and the drawing of ornaments, machines, maps, and architecture; the manner of teaching being both theoretical and practical. Some of these institutions are at the expense of the central government—some are provided for by the different communes. The higher schools of three classes for boys, as well as the lesser elementary schools for both sexes, are entirely at the expense of the comuni; whereas the four-class schools, and those of three classes for girls, are provided by the government.\* One of each of these last kinds is established in the principal town of each of the nine provinces, as well as one for girls in Crema and Casalmaggiore.

Here we may observe three points in which the Austrian system of popular education is superior to that as yet established in France: first, girls have equal advantages with boys as far as elementary education is necessary for them, and the comuni are found able to support the whole expense; secondly, the superior schools, which have failed in France, are here in vigour, being supported by the government; and nine such, distributed amongst a population of only two millions and a half, seems a fair provision. Another important feature in the education afforded in Lombardy is, that it recognizes the great deficiency of any system of which religious instruction forms no part. The grand evil of the system is, that the instruction imparted is limited and moulded to suit the views of the government, and any independent exercise of the knowledge thus acquired is jealously prevented.

We will now observe the increase of these various kinds of schools during the ten years since their establishment, ending with 1832:

Year.	Higher Boys' Schools.	Higher Girls' Schools.	Lesser Boys' Schools.	Lesser Girls' Schools.	Total Scholars.	
					Boys.	Girls.
1822	19	11	2108	492	81,941	26,524
1832	57	14	2279	1184	112,127	54,640

Besides these government schools, in which children from six to twelve years old are gratuitously instructed, there were, in 1832, 228 schools for Sundays and holidays (called *scuole festive*), where 4566 children above the age of twelve are taught the duties

\* Every commune containing above fifty children of both sexes between the ages of six and twelve, is bound to maintain an elementary school.

of religion, and perfected in the knowledge which they had acquired at the public schools. These are opened gratuitously, by parish priests and schoolmasters, in conformity with the following sentence in the instructions to the clergy, attached to the government regulations for elementary schools: "The prescribed period of attendance at the public schools being often insufficient for the necessary education of the children; in those places where there exist none but elementary schools, the priest will be required to give instruction in religion, and the schoolmaster in other subjects, on the afternoons of holidays, to those above the age at which attendance at the public school ceases to be obligatory."

In some large towns charitable individuals instruct the shop-boys and apprentices every evening in all that is most suitable to their condition.

All the asylums for foundlings and orphans have an elementary school attached to them. There are also in Lombardy thirty-six charitable boarding-schools (*convitti*); twenty for 702 boys, and sixteen containing 732 girls.

The elementary schools kept by private individuals, in which the scholars pay for their education, amounted in 1832 to 241; containing about 5119 boys, and 459 with 8631 girls.

The private superior schools, or colleges, contained 721 boys and 1641 girls.

Altogether, therefore, we may estimate the number of children, chiefly between the ages of six and twelve, who were in 1832 receiving elementary instruction in Lombardy, at the considerable number of 188,879, i. e. one-thirteenth of the inhabitants. At that date there were only ninety-eight comuni without a school, and most of these contained a population below that which the law obliges to maintain one. The readiness of the people to avail themselves of the benefits of education for their children may be judged of from the fact that, in 1832, there were, in the 2233 comuni of Lombardy, 3443 public school-rooms, of which 473 were gratuitously erected by private beneficence, the rest being entirely at the expense of the comuni.

The yearly expense of public elementary instruction in Lombardy is estimated\* at 2,550,000 Austrian lire, to the government (about £85,000), and 1,275,000 to the comuni (£42,000).

The plans of government will not be complete till two institutions of still higher instruction, for merchants and manufacturers (*scuole tecniche*), shall be established, one at Milan, and the other at Venice. They will teach history, particularly of arts and

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\* *Saggio Statistico sull' Italia*, by Col. Serristori.

commerce, the science of commerce, foreign languages, chemistry applied to the arts, architecture, mechanics, and hydraulics.

The government appoint provincial and district inspectors of public schools, on whose efficiency much of the success of the system depends.

Of the whole number of children between the ages of six and twelve years in Lombardy, the proportion which frequent the schools differs in the various provinces. It appears that, on an average of the whole,  $680\frac{1}{2}$  in every thousand boys of the proper age frequent the public schools, and 428 in every thousand girls. The deficiency in the attendance of the girls is in part accounted for by the more numerous private establishments for their education.\*

To secure a supply of proper persons to assume the important office of schoolmaster must be a principal consideration in every system of general education. The means adopted for training young men for this employment in Lombardy appear rather deficient. A six months' course in the science of teaching (*methodica*) is given in the higher schools of Milan and Mantua, and three months in the other schools of four classes. After this course, the aspirant to the office of master must pass a year as assistant in the practice of teaching at some public school. Instruction in the science of teaching is also given to those intended for holy orders in the episcopal seminaries.

\* In the following table a comparison is made between the number of children who frequent elementary schools and the whole population in different countries :

Lombardy	.	.	.	.	.	1 to 13
Bohemia	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 11
Tyrol	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 10
Moravia and Silesia	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 13
Styria and Carinthia	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 18
Lower Austria (exclusive of Vienna)	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 16
Upper Austria	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 20
Mean of the whole Austrian monarchy the same as in Lombardy	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 13
England and Scotland	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 16
Holland	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 14
Denmark	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 15
Bavaria	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 8
City of Naples	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 119
Russian Empire	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 924
Northern France	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 24
Southern Do.	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 40

This was the proportion previously to the introduction of the recent system of popular instruction in France. It now is in all France as 1 to about 27.

Tuscany	.	.	.	.	.	1 to 60
Corsica	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 20
Duchy of Parma	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 48
Do. of Lucca	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 29
Canton of Geneva	.	.	.	.	.	1 .. 7

Such is a sketch of the government system of popular instruction in Lombardy, which must be contemplated with satisfaction by every one who is interested in the improvement of the human race, and which invites the attention and imitation of all civilized nations.

Yet, much as has been done by the government, the energy and charity of individuals have still great scope for beneficial operation. The government schools receive the child at six years old—but in what sort of training has he passed the important years which have preceded? On the answer to this question depends much of the success of the subsequent efforts made for his improvement, nor can any system be complete which does not secure a good education from the earliest childhood. It is but recently that this great truth has been plainly perceived and cordially acted upon.

Infant schools owe their invention to Robert Owen, who established the first in Scotland in 1824. Five years after this (in 1829,) the Abate Ferranti Aporti, the founder of a school for the deaf and dumb at Cremona, had the honour of first introducing infant schools into Italy by the formation of one in the same town. This first attempt, which was confined to those whose parents could afford to pay for the instruction given, was followed in March of the next year by the establishment, by the aid of some charitable persons, of a second, in which poor boys were received for the whole day and their food given to them gratis. In January, 1833, the same individual, indefatigable in offices of charity, opened a similar one for poor girls, at his own expense. In the four last years these excellent institutions have been very much extended in Lombardy, being encouraged by an Aulic decree of February, 1832, in which the Austrian government expresses its satisfaction at the creation of such schools, and its permission to extend them in all the provinces by means of charitable associations.\*

The importance of infant schools, an invention which forms an era in the moral progress of mankind, may be considered, with reference to their effects upon public economy, and upon public and private morals. By accurate statistical inquiries, it appears that the hardships to which the infants of the poor are exposed reduce the total number of those born to one-fourth at the end of the three first years of their existence.† This small

\* For the progress of infant schools in Lombardy, see vols. xxiii. xxvii. xxix. and xxxii. of the *Annali Universali di Statistica*; and for those of Cremona, the *Mémoire* of the Abate Raffaele Lambruschini, in no. civ. of the *Nuovo Ricoglitore*.

† *Vid.* Statistical Tables of Mortality published by Cugnazzi of Naples, and an abstract vol. xxviii. *Annali di Statistica*.

surviving portion is frequently reduced by accidents or carelessness to a state of infirmity; a degeneration in health and bodily strength has been caused; and thus hereditary infirmities are propagated, which affect, not only families, but whole districts. These physical evils which affect the surviving children are much corrected by the cleanliness, the security from bodily injury, the wholesome diet, and the gymnastic exercises, which they enjoy in an infant school. The scrofulous affections and rachitis, under which they are often suffering when first received into the schools, are completely eradicated, or greatly mitigated by the wholesome life they lead. A flattering testimony to the importance of these advantages was borne by the physicians of Florence, when the approach of the cholera to that city, in 1835, threatened it with a visitation. Upon that occasion the medical faculty, being consulted as to the propriety of closing the infant schools of that city, in case the disease should make its appearance there, gave it as their opinion, that the danger arising from a number of children being collected together in these schools would be counterbalanced by the advantages to their general health which they enjoyed whilst frequenting them. The mothers often express their delight that they can now go about their work with light hearts, knowing that their children are not only in safety but also improving in goodness; whereas, before the establishment of these schools, they were compelled to leave them the whole day to the care of some neighbour more wretched than themselves, where their health and their morals suffered equally.

Indeed, the moral benefits resulting from these institutions are still more important than their effect upon the health of the children.

In order to give an idea of the principles upon which these schools are conducted in Italy, we will quote the words of the Abate Ferranti Aporti, of whom we have before made honourable mention as the father of these institutions in that country. It is extracted from a paper by him communicated to the Imperial and Royal Academy of Georgofili of Florence.

The Abate first enumerates the evils of the education received by infants abandoned to the care of their parents, as observed at Cremona.

“ 1. In the *moral habits*, obstinacy and caprice often manifest themselves, originating in the over-indulgence of their parents; the spirit of revenge, taught them by the practice of satisfying the child for any pain which he endures, by guiding his hand to strike the real or supposed author of the injury; shyness and awkwardness, caused by living only with their families; no habit of order; no practice of moral or religious duties. 2. As to their intellectual culture: all teaching confined to

that of some uncouth, and sometimes indecent, provincialisms ; to telling them stories of witches, fairies, and apparitions of ghosts and goblins, fit only to fill their minds with vain terrors ; no development afforded to the intellectual faculties ; no direction adapted to form their young judgment ; so that, in short, the whole system of education given to their virgin minds seems rather adapted to corrupt them in their first exertion and in their earliest development. 3. In reference to their *physical faculties* : innumerable mischiefs arise, whether from the practice of condemning children to sit for many hours a-day without stirring in baby-chairs, or from allowing them to indulge without check their naturally immoderate spirits. Excessive restraint causes weakness of body and every deformity which alters its proportions, and which often renders them wretched and useless through the remainder of their days. From the contrary extreme serious accidents often occur, which leave behind them permanent injuries, or lameness and mutilations, which render them a burden to society. From these causes result injury to their bodily health and strength, a moral corruption not easily remedied, and false ideas of things, and habits of forming erroneous judgments are implanted in the tender minds of the children. These two last evils are the more worthy of attention, inasmuch as daily experience proves how indelible are the early impressions and first ideas which we receive in tender infancy. It is a false opinion that at an early age children are incapable of learning any thing reasonable. Children are apt to learn as soon as they can speak, and it is a sad waste of the most precious time of life to allow them to occupy their first years in trifles. Nor is it more correct to suppose that they do not at that age employ their reason ; any one who will observe their little sports, and listen to their conversation, will be convinced of it. It must not, however be supposed from this that we think it right to extend widely the sphere of instructions which we consider useful to infancy. Having established the possibility of instruction and education, we select only those subjects adapted to the nature of infants, *and such as are suggested by the exercises which they practise when left to themselves, without the direction of guide or master.* For instance, we observe that children (even of a tender age) at the sight of a new object immediately ask its name. Now why may we not profitably excite their curiosity, either by offering to their consideration objects necessary or useful to be known, or by asking them the names which they do not yet know of objects already familiar to them ? In this way is obtained the advantage of teaching them the pure Italian, (the *patois* of all Lombardy is detestable,) and this not by dry grammatical rules, but by actual example, (*per via di fatto*,) the most efficient method at that age. 2. They are particularly fond of hearing stories and histories, and thus they listen with eager attention to their nurses or parents when they relate the absurd fables common amongst the people. Let us avail ourselves of this natural enmity, and we may advantageously substitute for these foolish and tasteless stories some solid information, as, for instance, a sketch of sacred history, which may besides serve as an introduction to the doctrines of Christianity.

"The children themselves are our best guides as to the fittest method of

communicating this sort of information to their young minds. If we show them a picture representing either a figure or an action, they eagerly examine it, and immediately begin to ask, Who is this? Who is that? What is he about? What's that? &c. Selecting then the best pictures representing scenes of the sacred history, and showing them to the children, explaining the subject and the persons represented, they will acquire with pleasure and insensibly, from their earliest years, much important religious knowledge.

" Again, it is a well-known fact that children are fond of singing, and this exercise, when well directed, serves to give a proper tone to the voice, and to communicate to the ear a sense of proper intonation and harmony. It is besides of great use (and of this the schools afford repeated examples) in preventing every defect of the organs of speech, which, if neglected during the first years of childhood, may cause at a more advanced age the habit of stuttering; a most serious defect, which often becomes ridiculous and humiliating to persons of distinguished intellect. Lastly, children like to write, read, and count objects.

" In conformity with the above observations, the following plan of education is constructed. As to the education and instruction of the intellect, it is proposed to effect this by the knowledge of familiar objects, and of their names, disposed systematically and distributed into classes; so that, while children learn them, they may be directed to distinguish their likeness or unlikeness, the whole and its various parts, the genera and species. In this part of instruction are comprised the names of the parts of the human body, of our clothes and of the most common natural objects, divided into animals, vegetables, and earths, of food, of buildings, and of their parts, &c.

" The method employed for the communication of this and all other knowledge is the demonstrative, that is, by the actual exhibition of the objects themselves, or of faithful representations of them. To this department of education belongs also the study of the alphabet, of reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic, as well as of religion, regarded as a principal object, and treated historically, as is most adapted to this tender age, when we are almost incapable of abstraction.

" To moral education and instruction belong the daily prayers in Italian for morning, noon, and evening, and for returning thanks, containing short, but fervent, liftings up of the mind to God, taken from the Scriptures and from the Catholic liturgy, and which are always accompanied with the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Angels, &c. Add to this the explanations of the pictures of sacred history, from which we do not fail to deduce moral principles for the regulation of the conduct. The very discipline of the school too is all a moral education, since it is indispensable to exact obedience and subordination from all, by which they are habituated to order. Whenever, too, slight differences arise between the children, they are taken advantage of to establish principles of conduct and of mutual kindness, which are not slow to strike root in their tender minds, nor easily lose their influence in after-life.

" Their moral education is also promoted by the Psalms, which they learn as they sing them. It is true that they may not comprehend all

contained in these hymns, but the time will come when they will understand their meaning; then, instead of the indecencies and profaneness contained in the songs of the people, they will find themselves instructed and strengthened with sentiments of a divine morality, ... *etc.*

"We come now to the physical education. The organs of the voice and of hearing are educated by the exercise of singing, and by the inspection of prints (in the choice of which the best and most regular should be selected) the sight is educated to appreciate what is beautiful and well proportioned. The games and gymnastic exercises adapted to their age and strength contribute greatly to give them force and agility. As a part of physical education, we must besides consider the regular life which they lead at the school, their frequent recreations, even the studies being conducted in the manner of a diversion, their eating at fixed hours and of wholesome food, the marching round the school-room, and the walking to and from the school."

Such are the principles upon which the Italian infant-schools are founded. The furniture of one of these institutions is composed of few and simple articles. Besides the building and playground, with a few implements for gymnastic exercises, there are benches, and desks with slates let into the wood, for the highest class. The mistress has a desk with drawers for the registers, prints, &c.

Everything being taught by means of the sight or of imitation, books are not necessary. The subjects of instruction, besides the prayers and psalms, are moral stories, or parts of the Scriptures, related to the children in pure and simple language, and afterwards more fully illustrated by pictures painted for the purpose by ladies of the societies, representing the scenes described, which particularly interest the children, and make them very attentive to the story, in order that, when the picture is exhibited, they may be able to understand it. This leads to questions on the scene represented in the picture, the persons, their attitudes, the colour of their clothes, and innumerable others, all calculated to give a habit of observation and an idea of art. Pictures also of instruments employed in different trades, and men at work with them, are very interesting to the children, and afford a vehicle for much useful information. The youngest learn to repeat distinctly their own names, the parts of their persons, and of their clothing, the furniture of the room, and so on. They are taught to count first single numbers, then two at a time, three at a time, and so on; and the four rules of arithmetic—all by means of a great frame, having twelve wires, stretched horizontally one beneath another, on each of which are strung twelve balls. Numeration, or the values of figures, according to the place they occupy, is taught by a similar instrument, only having the wires perpendicular, with nine balls on each, all or any of

which may be kept out of sight by means of a spring, which retains them behind a board by which the upper part of the wires is covered. The wires, beginning at the right of the spectator, correspond to the places of units, tens, hundreds, &c. Above each wire may be placed moveable cards having the Arabic numerals on them, so as to exhibit to the children at the same time the actual number by means of the balls, and its corresponding Arabic representative. For teaching fractions another frame may be employed with horizontal wires, on the uppermost of which is strung a cylinder, on the second two cylinders, making, when joined, one of the same length as the first, and thus representing two halves; below is one divided into three equal parts for thirds, another for quarters, and so on. Syllables, and then short words, are taught by placing on a frame, in view of all the children, moveable cards having letters printed upon them. The more advanced are called upon to come to the frame and form a given word. They then pick out, one by one, from the case in which the cards are contained, each letter of the word, and then divide it into syllables, pronouncing each separately. Notions of the natural history of the domestic animals are taught by stories relating to them, and illustrated by pictures; about which they are questioned as to their uses, their food, their paces, their cries, &c. with injunctions to treat them always with kindness. The girls learn to sew, &c. both sexes to knit, and other easy work, whilst the youngest occupy their hands in picking to pieces silk rags.

We may here remark that, in the garden attached to the infant-school at Geneva, we remarked beds of shrubs and flowers, protected only by a low slight fence, by which means the children are accustomed to abstain from exercising that destructive disposition in which they are naturally inclined to indulge. This would be an excellent idea wherever it could be contrived in England, where, it is a universal complaint, that the working classes, young and old, are more mischievous than those of any other nation.

It is found in Italy that a distribution of prizes in the infant-schools is rather injurious than otherwise, those who obtain them not understanding their value; while the rest, who receive nothing, are hurt and disappointed. Corporal punishments are entirely unnecessary, and are completely excluded from these schools, the mistress being only allowed to make the offender stand apart from his companions; and to induce him, by kind remonstrance, to feel sorrow for his fault and a desire of pardon.\*

\* We were struck by an observation on this subject made by the excellent director of the institution for schoolmasters at Lausanne. In a lecture on the principles of punish-

A great deal of the benefit of these schools arises from a proper selection of the mistress, who keeps a register of any observations or incidents which she may think interesting. Ladies are also appointed by the societies to inspect the schools in turn, and they also keep a register of any interesting facts or reflections which may occur to them, which are read at the meetings of the committee. From this accurate study of a number of children, at an age when previously formed habits have less power to counteract the efforts of the teacher, the most valuable hints for the science of education may be obtained.

In the spring of the present year, 1837, there were in existence in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, besides the infant schools at Cremona above mentioned, another in that province, one in each of the provinces of Mantua and Bergamo, two at Venice, one at Vicenza, and one at Verona, while others were in preparation. On the 16th of March, the secretary of the society for infant schools in Milan made his report on their state in that city, which does the greatest credit to its inhabitants. The president of this interesting meeting was the son of the great Beccaria, a circumstance which could not but suggest to all present the progress which has been made in the assertion of the claims of humanity since the period when his father raised his voice against the cruelty and absurdity of the criminal law and procedure in his days. The report commences by detailing the exertions of the committee, in obtaining for the infant-school society the privileges of perpetuity and other advantages belonging to what is called in Lombardy a *causa pia*. The first requisite towards this object was a capital properly invested, (*patrimonio di stabile dotazione*), for which purpose they succeeded in raising the large sum of 15,811 Austrian lire, about 527*l.* The institution had enjoyed the active support of the governor of Lombardy, Count Hardig, the protection of the vice-queen, and the superintendence of the Archbishop of Milan. These circumstances are of importance, inasmuch as this is the first instance in Italy where a similar object has been recognized by the government as of sufficient importance to be ranked as a regular institution of public beneficence; having hitherto only been tolerated. That this object was not gained without considerable exertion may be supposed from some notices which we gathered from private sources on the spot.

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ments, and the nature of those adapted to schools, he remarked that the education of a child was wholly different from the training of an animal. Obedience which results merely from fear is of little value, the great object must be to reach the heart, and to excite in the child a true repentance; whereas corporal punishment is considered by the child to be in itself an expiation of his faults. On these principles the law on public instruction in the canton of Vaud expressly forbids corporal punishment in the public schools.

When licence was requested of the government for the first school of the sort to be opened at Milan, there were not wanting those of the highest classes who opposed it with all their influence, and went so far as to represent it to the government as an *immoral* proposal, and one of which they wondered that a *priest* should be guilty. It was observed to us, that, had it been a plan for founding a new convent for monks or nuns, or for creating a school to be intrusted to such hands, every assistance, pecuniary or of other kinds, would have been afforded. But to think of introducing an institution copied from the heretics of Great Britain or Switzerland was too bad. When, however, by the enlightened support of the government, these objections were overruled, and the school put in operation, the ultra-purists raised a cry against the indelicacy of assembling infants of from one and a half to five years old, of the two sexes, in the same room, though they are placed at opposite ends of it. They took some pains to persuade the parents that it would be highly improper to allow their children to frequent a school where such promiscuous association was permitted. Next came the priests, crying out against the scandal of teaching children to say their prayers in their mother-tongue. It gave us great pleasure to learn, however, that the evident advantages of the institution are every day winning to the cause those who at first honestly objected to it from ignorance and prejudice.

At the school which we visited we found two *Sœurs de la Charité* from near Turin, who had come expressly for the purpose of studying the system of instruction, in order, with the approbation of the Sardinian government, to establish a similar school on their return. But to return to our Report. Within a year from the first commencement of this new era in the education of Milan, there were opened three infant schools, containing 300 infants, who would shortly be increased to 350, and they expected gradually to add to these schools five others, the building for one of which, to contain 150 children, had already been purchased, so that they will be commensurate with the wants of the population. Each school is under the immediate *surveillance* of an inspector chosen from among the subscribers, and also is daily visited by one of the ladies of the society, who take this maternal duty upon themselves in turn for a week at a time. Six physicians and two surgeons visit gratuitously the three infant schools, and make a report of the state of health of the children received, and of the effect of the change in their manner of life after their entrance. Four druggists furnish gratis the necessary medicines. The committee chosen out of the whole society have the appointment of the mistresses, and of the course of education pursued in all the schools.

No little indirect advantage has accrued to the poorer classes in Milan from the visits made at their houses by the inspectors and the priests of the different parishes, in order to verify their claims to admission for their children into these schools, which are entirely gratuitous. The scenes of misery which these visits have revealed would have too often passed unheard of and unrelieved, but for this happy accident bringing charitable persons to their doors. The inhuman custom, which a false charity has made so common in Italy, of abandoning their infants to the foundling hospital, has received a check, as has been the case in other cities, by the establishment of these schools. "Four mothers," says the Report, "upon the simple promise that their children should be received into the schools, immediately claimed them from the foundling hospital, and others were preserved from the necessity of placing their infants there by the relief afforded them in the reception of their elder children into the schools."

The physicians, in their report to the society, express themselves satisfied with the improvement in the health of the children, consequent on their attendance at the schools. Of the school of S. Francesco de Paola it says,—

"The improvement in the general health of this school is surprising. A sufficiency of food of good quality, administered at stated hours, the alternation of repose with a judicious exertion of mind and body, and the cleanliness in their persons and dress, which is enjoined upon the parents as a particular duty, appear to have produced an effect so great that it may be almost called a prodigy. So that whoever remembers the condition in which we received these children, and compares it with that which they now present, will be really affected by it, a reward almost too abundant for those who, either with their money or their care, have assisted in restoring to society, as active and useful members, those who otherwise, afflicted with a painful existence, would only have been a burden to it."

Turning now from the physical condition of these infants to their moral and intellectual training, the Report correctly states the true intention of these institutions. It consists not so much in a precocious development of the intellect, as in a well-directed preparation for the most useful notions of practical life, and, more than all, in the fostering religious and moral sentiments, which may be reduced by practice and example to fixed and unshaken habits. The system of Aporti, detailed in the Manual of the Abate Ferranti Aporti, and also in his Guide for Infant Schools, published in 1835, of which we have already given some idea, has been adopted at Milan.

But the chief care is bestowed, in all these exercises, in their amusements, and, on every occasion which presents itself, on cre-

ating in them proper feelings, respect for each other's property, abhorrence of falsehood, habits of obedience and docility, gratitude and benevolence to each other, by settling their little disputes, and making them, as far as possible, judges of their own actions. We cannot refuse our readers the pleasure of perusing one or two of several incidents mentioned in the Report, in proof of the success of these instructions, though commenced only a few months before.

The mistress of the school of S. M. Segreta having gone into the country on account of her health, the children, quite afflicted at not finding her on their arrival at school one morning, begged the assistant mistress (who was the mother of the other) to allow them to say an *Ave Maria*. "And for whom," said she, "do you wish to say it?" To which the children answered with emotion, "We wish to say it for our dear angel (angioletto) who, we fear, is ill." "And who is this dear angel?" asked the assistant, in astonishment. "Our good mistress," answered the children, in distress. They had given this seraphic name to their excellent instructress, for whose restoration to health they were anxious to offer their prayers to the Virgin. Such a spontaneous proof of affection towards her daughter, on the part of sixty infants, was so affecting a spectacle that the mistress declared she should never forget it.

On another occasion, the mistress was compelled to employ the only chastisement permitted in these schools, that of making the naughty child stand apart from its companions; and this correction was to be applied to a little girl who was generally the best in the school. Unaccustomed to such a punishment, confused and weeping, she had not courage to move from her place: the mistress had hardly risen to compel her obedience, when all the children together begged her to pardon the delinquent. The pardon was granted to this unanimous intercession, and this act of benevolence on the part of her companions had the happiest effect in preventing the little girl from falling again into any offence.

So natural is the taste for singing among the children of Italy, that the introduction of this exercise has been found one of the most ready means of rendering them docile and obedient. The Report says:

"The privileged race which draws its breath under the sky of Italy is born for song; set them singing, and you have already civilized them! From the instinct of imitation, most of them on entering the schools had already caught some of the unrefined songs common among the people. It became then important to substitute for these songs a better kind, and this part of their education has had this happy effect that, in those fa-

inities whose children frequent the schools, the elder members have learned from the little creatures the hymns which the latter brought home with them, and thus perhaps the praises of their Maker, and of the virtues of Christians, have for ever superseded the indecent airs in which they before indulged."

On Christmas-day last, the rector of S. M. Segreta allowed the children of the school over which he presides with such activity, to sing Mauzoni's splendid hymn on the Nativity, in his church. The innocent voices of these infants moved to tears all the congregation; it was like the song of the angels who first announced the great event.

"We know not how to express," says the Report, "the humble joy with which the parents that day took their children home from church. They had become, as it were, sacred in their eyes: they had sung the praises of their Maker in a way which the more advanced in life cannot equal. All the poor people present desired to have some connection, either by relationship or by kind offices, with these infants; they were proud of possessing little creatures so improved. Such a solemn consolation afforded to the poor man is of the greatest effect in filling his heart with the comforting persuasion that his tears are wiped away, and his griefs alleviated. He returned home blessing in his heart the charity of his country, and blessing the paternal care of the government, which had so steadily supported from its first birth this institution of true Christian charity."

The general interest which these institutions are beginning to excite in Milan, now that their claims to public support are more generally known, may be judged of by the fact, that, notwithstanding the great exertion necessary, on the part both of private individuals and of the authorities, for mitigating the terrors of the cholera, which visited Milan last year, not only were large sums subscribed for the permanent foundation and annual expenses of the schools, but others sent presents of linen, furniture, and other necessaries, whilst the very workmen rivalled each other in the moderation of their prices and their rapidity in executing the necessary adaptations in the buildings appropriated to the schools.

It has been before stated, that gentlemen of the medical profession afford their time and skill gratuitously, and the same is done by the architects who furnish plans for the buildings. Ladies (including the vice-queen) have contributed work to be disposed of by lottery for the benefit of the schools, and some of the first painters and sculptors of the city have likewise contributed the fruits of their genius in aid of these excellent institutions. The corporation manifested its interest for their prosperity by repairing a street leading to one of the schools, and ordered besides a flagging to be laid expressly for the accommodation of the children frequenting this establishment.

The small expense at which an immense benefit may be diffused by these institutions is proved by the accounts of those of Milan, as everywhere else; 45 Austrian lire, or 1*l.* 10*s.* English, being sufficient for a year's education for each child. Besides supplying them with a sort of frock with sleeves to be worn in school, a dinner in the middle of the day, and medical attendance . . .

It is chiefly in the infant and Sunday schools that the public spirit of the inhabitants of Lombardy can manifest itself in the furtherance of education, whereas in Tuscany a much wider field is open for the exertions of philanthropy, the instruction of the lower orders of all ages being very imperfectly provided for. The Tuscans have not neglected this opportunity of proving that the liberality and energy in the promotion of public objects, which rendered their country so remarkable in the history of former times, is still not extinct. A system of government schools was indeed established by the great reformer Leopold I., and yet exists in the laws, but has been in general allowed to fall into a state of lethargy, and where it yet shows some signs of life, is little in unison with the wants of the present age. This state of things has stimulated private beneficence to endeavour to supply the deficiency, according to the wants and means of satisfying them possessed by each locality. Hence, no general description can be given of the means of education in Tuscany, no regular system being established, but each part being differently circumstanced. Though, however, the population may by this means be less uniformly supplied with instruction, this state of things favours the development of an originality and independence of ideas, from which the science of education has much to hope, and which may render the schools of Tuscany as eminent in the science of teaching, as its republics of old were in that of government. In this country both infant and Lancasterian schools have taken root in a congenial soil, and flourish with an independent and vigorous growth, quite different from that of an institution merely borrowed from another people.

In the year 1835, the population of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany amounted to 1,421,000.

Omitting the academical instruction afforded in Tuscany by the Universities of Pisa and Siena, (founded in 1160 and 1275, and containing, the first, about 600, the second, about 300 students,) and the Studj Accademici at Florence, comprising medicine and the fine arts, we will confine ourselves to Secondary and Elementary instruction.

Secondary instruction is afforded to males in five colleges, containing about 1200 scholars—seven superior Latin schools under

the Padri Scolopj, with about 1800—and twenty-one in the episcopal seminaries, with about 1000 boarders, besides some hundreds of day-scholars. Secondary instruction for females is given in establishments called Conservatorj, all under the direction of nuns, of which Tuscany possesses forty-three.

We come now to Elementary instruction, which is more properly the subject of our present inquiry. In the 247 communi into which the Grand Duchy is divided, there are 230 government boys' schools where the children are received gratis, besides others in the principal towns; but those in the country are often little frequented, the methods of instruction very defective, and their efficiency very small, from want of proper superintendence and direction. For the education of the females of the lower orders, the government supports seven elementary schools in some of the principal towns, containing about 1700 girls. Besides these, there are fourteen schools at the expense of the comuni, and others for both sexes attached to charitable institutions, or for which the scholars pay. The defectiveness, however, of all these different means of instruction is but too plain, when it appears that the number of children who actually frequent school at any time is to the whole population as one to sixty.

It is to compensate this great want, and to introduce improved methods of teaching, that many of the most estimable inhabitants of the Grand-Duchy, of both sexes and of all conditions, nobles, churchmen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, &c., have lately turned their united energies and acquirements, regarding the diminution of popular ignorance and the improvement of the habits and morals of the people as the first step towards any real social progress.

The means which have been as yet employed for diffusing the blessings of education by private exertion in Tuscany, have been the establishment of infant schools and of schools of mutual instruction. The term Lancasterian schools would not give a proper idea of the method employed in these last, as they have adopted in them whatever alterations an anxious study of the wants of each locality, or the general principles of education, have suggested. We will first give a general view of the several institutions of both classes which have been as yet opened, and then proceed to a more particular account of some of them.

## Schools of Mutual Instruction.

Name of Place.	Number of Schools.	How supported.	Number of Boys.	Number of Girls.
Florence	2	A society.	340	—
	1	Dimidoff.	100	—
Leghorn	1	A society.	250	—
	2	Israelites.	60	60
Pisa	1	A society.	100	—
Siena	2	A society.	50	50
Pistoia	1	The comune	200	—
Figline	1	The comune	80	—
Lari	1	The comune	60	—
Seravanza	1	The comune	80	—
Pescia	1	Private school.	Not known	
Portoferraio (Elba.)	1	Particulars not known.		
Arezzo	1	Do.	Do.	
Total	16			

## Infant Schools.

Name of Place.	Number of Schools.	How supported.	Number of Boys.	Number of Girls.
Florence	2	Society.	210	—
	1	Israelites	25	—
Leghorn	2	Society.	—	188
	1	Private school.	—	125
	2	Israelites	45	45
Pisa	2	Society.	29	188
Siena	1	Society.	45	—
Prato	1	Society.	—	80
Total	12		354	576

Besides the infant schools above enumerated, another is shortly to be established in Florence on a liberal scale, for a hundred children, by Dimidoff.

The society has also this year, by means of a lottery of ladies' work, obtained sufficient to establish another school, which will be appropriated to girls, and will be supported by increased subscriptions.

The system of mutual instruction has received a great impulse in Tuscany, by the formation in 1819 of a society at Florence

for its promotion. To this end they have established two large boys' schools in that town, published a guide for the direction of those who wish to put the same system in practice elsewhere, and formed a magazine of slates, books, and all the furniture necessary for a school of a hundred children, which can be procured from them immediately, and at wholesale prices. The newly established schools are, therefore, naturally led to adopt a system which combines so many advantages as a means of popular education.

The school at Leghorn, from its size, the attention which has been paid to it, and the useful modifications of the system which prevails in other places which have been introduced in it, seems to claim a more particular notice. It is also interesting to an Englishman, from the names of so many of his countrymen being found in the list of subscribers, together with those of persons belonging to most European nations, collected in this active emporium of commerce.

This school was opened in February, 1829, the first object being to form boys to act as monitors. It was then gradually enlarged, and in 1835 removed into the present building, which has been erected by the society on a magnificent scale, expressly for it. It now contains 250 boys. The school is open six hours a day, three in the morning, and as many in the afternoon, one of which is devoted to each of the three exercises, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Besides this, the upper classes learn linear drawing, and the monitors of two or three classes are examined by the director daily, to ascertain that they are fit for the duties which they have to perform, so that in this way the whole body of monitors, on whom so much of the prosperity of the school depends, are reviewed every week. The school is divided into twenty-two classes for reading and writing, and into thirty for arithmetic. It has been found very important to render the grades of instruction as numerous as possible, so that the transition from one to the other should be gradual, and, as it were, imperceptible. By this means the progress is sure, and the boy is never discouraged by finding difficulties which he is not prepared to surmount.\* The classes in each separate branch of instruction are composed of different individuals, so that backwardness in arithmetic, for example, does not retard a boy's progress in reading or writing. In each of these branches two operations may be observed, one of which may be called imitation, the other application. In the first, the children repeat word by word what is told them by the monitors; in the second, they are required to

\* In one of the Lancasterian schools at Geneva, which contained only 200 boys, we found forty-three classes in arithmetic.

make an application of what they have thus been taught. For example, in reading: in the first class, the monitor points to a syllable, and pronounces it; the scholar repeats this aloud. This is imitation. The monitor orders a child to find a certain syllable; the child finds it and names it. This is application. Again in arithmetic, the monitor draws four lines on a slate, and says, "To represent four lines, this figure is used," (pointing to 4). The child repeats the name, and writes the figure. This is imitation. The monitor makes another number of lines on the slate, and asks the children, "How many lines have I made?" They tell the number, find it on the table of figures, and write it. This is application.

The manner of learning to read is a great improvement upon the irrational method generally adopted, in which a child is made to learn a number of names of letters, which he must afterwards unlearn, in order to combine these same letters into syllables. Our meaning will be best shown by an example. From knowing the names of the four letters *w*, *a*, *l*, *l*, how is a child possibly to conjecture that these four long names combined together should form a monosyllable, *wall*. Having been taught to consider *w* as equivalent to "double *u*," *a* as equivalent to "ay," *l* to "el," and *l* to "el," how is he to guess that "double *u*-ay-el-el," should be sounded *wall*. The names of single letters do not help at all to know how they should be pronounced when combined into syllables, particularly in English, where each vowel has so many different sounds. From knowing the names of the Greek alphabet, do we know the pronunciation of ancient Greek? The rational way of teaching a child to read is to begin by teaching the sound of each consonant preceded and followed by each of the five vowels, and then combinations of the vowels and double consonants; then single syllables may be combined into words of two or more syllables. Indeed, we have known children learn to read quickly and correctly by beginning at once with an easy book, passing over all the tedious work of syllables without meaning. The first word was pointed out to the child and pronounced. The child, already knowing the word, soon caught the form of the printed letters which represented it, so as to know it again by sight whenever he met with it. In the same way he was taught the following words, and this, as they were really words that he already knew by ear, and having a meaning attached to them, was much less of a task than the remembering a number of syllables with no meaning.\*

\* At the admirable Lancastrian school of the British and Foreign School Society, Borough Road, the children begin with words of three letters, which affords the opportunity of questioning them on their meaning, as well as of merely learning the mechanical art of reading.

But to return to the constitution of the Leghorn school. In this institution are daily assembled 250 boys, belonging to a class of society in which harshness in the treatment of children is not rare, and yet the most perfect discipline and order are obtained without the use of corporal punishment. The 31st article of the directions to the master is to this effect: "The director is expressly forbidden to employ the rod, or to strike his scholars with the hand."\* It becomes an interesting inquiry how this excellent effect is produced. The possibility of arriving at a result so desirable seems to form one of the great advantages of the system of mutual instruction, in which one boy is made responsible for the good conduct of his fellow-scholars. About a third part of the whole school form a body of monitors. They are selected by the director or master from the higher classes, and, besides the instruction implied by their position in the school, they must be above seven years of age, must not have been registered as insubordinate for a month before their election, nor have been accused before the jury (of which more hereafter) for six months. When a boy uniting these requisites is to be appointed monitor, the director summons all the rest of the body, and proposes to them the name of the intended member, asking if they know any objection to his admission. If no sufficient objection is stated, he is forthwith elected. The body of monitors, thus constituted, is assembled every morning by the director, and he appoints those who shall serve during that day in each class. Once a week, one of the monitors is appointed by the director inspector-general, and another, subordinate to him, called the monitor-general. The whole instruction and discipline of the school are now in the hands of the monitors, the director and his assistant having only to overlook the whole, and see that all do their duty. The monitors are forbidden to speak to any of their class, or to allow them to talk together, unless on the business before them. At the end of each lesson, the inspector-general goes round the whole school, and is told by each monitor the name of the boy who has been most diligent, and also of any one that has been negligent, in each class, which names he writes down on his slate. The inspector then returns to his desk at the head of the room, and reads aloud the names of the diligent and negligent, which he has received from the monitors, which names the director then copies into a register, or rather he makes certain marks opposite to the names of these boys in a register containing the names of the whole school, and arranged for that purpose, so that at a glance the conduct of each boy may be seen at once. At the end of the day the monitors who have conducted themselves well receive a mark of appro-

\* *Guida per le Scuole di Reciproco Insegnamento.*

bation. Every Saturday, the monitors point out any boy in their class whom they may think worthy of passing into a higher one, and if, upon examination, the director finds him fitted for it, he passes. Every two months, when the visiter of the school goes out of office, a general examination of the whole school takes place, when any who are found deficient are put back into an inferior class, and a report of the whole is made by the visiter in writing.

For further encouragement to good conduct, one-tenth part of the school forms what is called the *society of merit*. The admission into this body is not confined to any particular classes, but is determined by the marks of diligence in the register, of which 150 are necessary, after the deduction of the marks of negligence, one of the latter cancelling four of the former. Besides this, the candidate must not have been accused before the jury for a year, must not be above sixteen years old, and must be able to read, write, and cipher pretty well. When a vacancy is to be filled up, the director proposes three candidates, out of whom the rest of the society choose, by secret voting, one, who is admitted at the half-yearly public distribution of prizes. The members wear a medal, are seated apart from the rest of the school on occasions of ceremony, and are presented to any distinguished visiter who comes to see the school.

We come now to the jury, an institution destined to deprive the punishments inflicted of any appearance of passion, and to render them more imposing. Those who are capable of sitting on a jury are chosen, one from each class, by the rest of the boys of the class. Half the number are changed upon each half-yearly distribution of prizes. When a boy is accused of any offence, he selects from this body the jury who are to try him, which consists of four boys, presided over by the inspector-general. If the accused belong to the body of monitors, or to the society of merit, he may select his jury from those of his own class. The jury, having heard witnesses, and the defence of the culprit, communicate each secretly to the inspector the punishment which he deems just, and the director chooses, from their verdicts, that which accords best with the printed laws of the school. An account of the whole proceeding is then entered in a register kept for that purpose.

It is very much to the credit of the inhabitants of Leghorn that, amidst the affairs of commerce, in which most of the supporters of this school are engaged, those appointed by the society to visit the school have been found most diligent in the performance of this duty, though they are required to attend daily each for two months in the year, to make observations, receive appli-

cations for admission, acquaint themselves with the conduct of all, and point out those deserving of rewards; of all which particulars they have to present a written report at the monthly meetings of the committee. The importance of this daily observation of the practical working of the system, in its minute details, cannot be too much insisted upon. It stimulates the exertions of the director and scholars, and affords the means of introducing innumerable little improvements, and of immediately altering whatever is amiss.

The chief difficulty attending the mutual system of instruction is to prevent the instruction conveyed by it from degenerating into a mere mechanical exertion of the memory, unconnected with the opening of the mind and the improvement of the reasoning faculties. Thus children will sometimes know all the words in a sentence, and read them correctly, without the slightest idea of the meaning of the whole. That this, however, is not a necessary defect in the system is proved by our experience in England, where it has been adapted not only to teach reading with intelligence, but to higher branches of knowledge, such as geography, history, drawing, and natural history. This effect is obtained by constantly requiring the monitors to call into exercise the reasoning faculties of their class, by questioning them on the meaning of every thing they learn, from their very first entrance into the school.

The difficulty has been felt at the school of mutual instruction at Florence, where the five higher classes receive instruction from the director in person, an exercise which is called *sviluppo intellettuale*. This is accomplished by each reading in turn a short paragraph, upon the meaning of which the director questions them, enlarging upon any point of morals, or other incidental subject, from which instruction may be derived. Besides this, some of the highest boys are required to write some little original composition while at home; such, for instance, as the history of a holiday or festival, a description of some incident, or a story which has been read to them.

We have already given so much space to the description of infant schools in Lombardy, that we must pass over in silence those of a similar kind in Tuscany, particularly as the latter are principally modelled on the system of Aporti above alluded to. We will only remark a most important accession lately made by the society of infant schools at Florence, by the reception into their body of twelve *capi-d' arte*, or heads of trades, a class who formerly possessed the government of the Florentine Republic. The last report in reference to these individuals, says—

“ It is known to you all, that those wonderful monuments, those

superb edifices, those majestic temples, with which our city abounds, are all the creations of that period in our history when the magistrates who ruled the Republic were selected from our corporations of arts ; when, under their direction, Florence was the arbitress of the fate of Italy."

Amongst the trades thus belonging to the infant-school society, through their representatives, we remark workers in wool and silk, booksellers, jewellers, dyers, cabinet-makers, gilders, tailors, carpenters, bricklayers, bakers, and others. The co-operation of this class of citizens enables the society to find certain employment for the children educated by them, at the period when their age obliges them to leave the schools, which will in future be at eight years old, the society having lately resolved to add a third class to their schools.

Before we conclude this notice of the first efforts now in progress for the improvement of public instruction in Northern Italy, we will give a short account of a commercial school, under the direction of Professor Doveri, opened at Leghorn in August, 1833. This establishment resembles, in some respects, our proprietary schools, the parents of the boys received into it forming a society, by whom the professors are appointed, their salaries and all expenses of the school defrayed, and the course of study arranged. Hence it is called the school of the *padri di famiglia* (fathers of families) ; and at the period of our visit it contained forty boys, who attend school from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. daily. The affairs of the school are under the immediate superintendence of a committee chosen annually out of the whole body of parents, consisting of four inspectors and a treasurer. Each of the inspectors undertakes in turn the particular personal *surveillance* of the establishment for three consecutive months.

On entering the school, we found all the children, having just finished a slight luncheon, engaged in their amusements. It being a rainy day, last winter, a waltz was playing on a violin in one room, and all the company there whirling gaily round. The rest were in another room, receiving instructions in drawing ; both these accomplishments being here considered as recreations. The boys are divided into three classes, and, there being three separate school-rooms, three professors can be engaged in instruction at the same time, the different classes proceeding from one room to another at the conclusion of each hour. The course of instruction, as at present arranged, comprises the following subjects :—

"Sacred history and geography, to all, every Saturday ; natural history, ~~to all~~, three times a-week ; arithmetic and geometry, to the first class, three times a-week. The principles of morals, taught through the medium of the *Italian language*, to the first and second classes, three

times a-week ; history (ancient and modern), taught by means of the *French language*, to the first and second classes, three times a-week ; geography, to the first and second classes, by means of the *English language*, three times a-week ; writing, drawing, dancing, to all ; grammar to the first class."

This school having a special object in view,—to afford a good commercial education,—the course of study has been directed to the objects which are most important to those who are to engage in commerce. These appear to be, the knowledge of mankind in relation to their Maker and to one another, the knowledge of languages, of the most important productions of nature, and that of the elements of mathematics. The knowledge of man's nature, in his duties as a member of society, is communicated (in addition to direct religious instruction) by means of a judicious selection of moral tales—read, discussed, and afterwards reduced to writing. On the day on which we had the pleasure of visiting the establishment, the lecture on morals commenced by the professor of that branch reading aloud, to the whole class assembled round his desk, the essay of each boy on the subject which had been treated of in the last lecture. On that occasion a tale had been read aloud to them by the professor, and then again by some of the class ; after which they had been questioned on the facts related, and appropriate reflections and developments were suggested. Upon their return home, after school, each boy had written his account of the story in his own words, incorporating with it the reflections of the professor. It was these essays which the professor was now reading to the class, and upon which he remarked or put questions to the boys, as he proceeded. This appears an excellent method of teaching composition and orthography, and answers that end much better than the plan of forcing upon a boy the irksome task of stringing together some common-place sentiments on a trite subject, under the name of a theme.

It will have been remarked that a peculiarity in this establishment is the method of teaching foreign languages in a practical way, by making them the vehicle of instruction in other subjects.

While the exercise above described was going on in Italian, the second class, in an adjoining room, was occupied with a lesson in history, given by a native of France in his own language. He first read over and corrected, in the hearing of all, the portion of history which each boy had written in French, after his dictation, at the previous lesson. This done, he proceeded to put questions in French, to each boy in turn, upon the last two lessons, which questions they were called upon to answer in French ; and in doing so, gave proof, in general, of consider-

able proficiency, by the correctness of their idiom and pronunciation. The professor, keeping in view the double object of his instructions, was not sparing of illustrations and digressions, thus rendering the subject more interesting to his youthful hearers, while they unconsciously caught the true Parisian idiom and accent. Geography is taught, in the same manner, by a native of England, in his own language. These three exercises are confined to boys in the two highest classes, after they have already acquired, while in the lowest class, the rudiments of these two foreign languages. Taking a look into the third school-room, we found the youngest class receiving their introduction to the French language, and to the elements of natural history, (one of the most amusing subjects for children,) at the same time. This was done by the professor writing, in chalk, on a large slate, a few lines of French on the important mineral *coal*. As he slowly pronounced each word, the children copied it into their writing-books, and then the meaning of each word, and of the whole sentence, was explained to them. Thus the first notions of the grammar and orthography of the language are learned *practically*, and therefore with ease and pleasantly; and the same with English, so as to fit them, on entering the second class, to pursue their study of these languages by the exercises above mentioned. Besides the instruction in sacred history, a priest attends to teach the children the catechism and the doctrines of their church. They are forming also a small museum of natural history, with materials collected in excursions into the country during the summer.

The present course of instruction lasts about four years, and costs about 32*l.* per annum, with 2*l.* entrance-money. It is, however, in contemplation shortly to extend the range of instruction, by the addition of a further four years' course, which will include Latin, logic, and metaphysics, commercial jurisprudence, the theory and practice of commerce (by the medium of the German language), algebra, chemistry applied to the arts, mechanics, and anatomy.

Children taught by methods so well adapted to their ages, tastes, and pursuits, can be easily managed without the necessity of violent punishments, which are requisite where irksome employments are the constant cause of disgust and lassitude. The discipline is chiefly maintained by means of the parents, whose attention is constantly called to their child's conduct and progress, by means of a daily report made to each in writing.

The following is a copy of the printed form in which this report is made:—

Anno 1837.

~  
Luglio.

QUADRO RAPPRESENTATIVO.

No. 21.  
~

Dei Meriti e Demeriti di S— F—, come Alunno d' ell' Instituto dei Padri di Famiglia.

Giorni del Mese.	LINGUA ITALIANA.		HISTOIRE.	GEOGRAPHY.	ISTRUZIONE RELIGIOSA.	OSSERVAZIONI.	Visto del Padre.
	Moralità e Disciplina.	Studio.					
1							
2							
3							

In the above report, which comprehends the most important studies of the school, it will be observed that each teacher is daily called upon to specify the conduct of each pupil whilst engaged in that branch of education which he has taught him. And, in judging the merits of a boy, a very just and important discrimination is made between his proficiency in his studies and his private conduct, so that the parent is informed whether his child is merely negligent or dull in his lessons, or actually depraved in his moral character. The director may add his general observations on the pupil in the last column but one, and by the father's signature in the last column, it is ascertained that the report has been duly presented to him.

Leghorn is also remarkable for an infant school for children of the *higher classes*, the only one of the kind of which we have yet heard, but which we feel sure will shortly be established among ourselves, when ladies perceive with what ease and pleasure children acquire, in these institutions, an amount of information which it would be the most dreadful drudgery to both mother and child to teach them singly. So true is it that man is a social animal (a *ζωτικὸν ζῶν*), that all his faculties—moral, intellectual, and physical—seem to be capable of their greatest and most easy development by intercourse with his fellow-creatures, and this especially amongst the young. Imitation and example will lead children to consider as an amusement, and to acquire insensibly from one another, habits and knowledge which would only cause disgust and weariness were it attempted to instil them by solitary teaching. But our space warns us that the praises even of infant schools must have their limits, and we will only say to all who are not convinced that they are the greatest invention of the age in which we live: Betake yourselves forthwith to the nearest infant school, and after remaining there an hour, judge for yourselves.

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ART. III.—1. *Narrenbuch.* Herausgegeben durch F. H. v. der Hagen. 8vo. Halle.

2. *Der ganz neue, wieder erstandene Eulenspiegel, oder wunderbare und seltsame Geschichte des Till Eulenspiegels, eines Bauern Sohnes, gebürtig aus dem Lande zu Braunschweig, &c.* Munich, 1833. 8vo.

THE reader who has been accustomed to contemplate the literature of Germany only on that graver side, where a boundless expanse of mystical and metaphysical learning lies spread before him, far as eye can reach, may experience some feelings of sur-

prise when he finds his attention called to the early comic writings of that country. And, if he remembers that Erasmus characterised the Germans as being especially fond of books of magic—that, according to the oracular decision of the learned Frenchman, “ wit does not exist among them”—and if he has moreover not forgotten in what, according to the well-known Baron de Grimm, their notions of sprightliness consist—his surprise at learning that works professedly comic are to be found among the treasures of their early literature will be considerably increased, when he finds these hitherto almost neglected volumes so rich in shrewdness, wit, and humour, as to justify to the fullest the time spent in their perusal.

It is not our intention to occupy with long dissertations on the manner in which these works arose, or the state of society which gave birth to them, the space which may be more profitably employed in the examination of the books themselves; but, we would first call attention to the fact, that at none of the other courts of Europe were professed jesters and merry-makers received with such favour and encouragement, as were bestowed upon them by the princes of Germany. Even the grave Rudolph of Hapsburg, who was the foremost to banish from his presence the court minstrel, was the first to number among his retainers the court fool,—the Pfaff Cappadox, whom Cradelius mentions in his celebrated Funeral Sermon on the Pomeranian Jester, Hans Miesko, having held that office; an office which, being once established, existed for a considerable period. We learn from the “ Theuerdank,” that Maximilian narrowly escaped being blown up in a castle in the Tyrol by one of his jesters; the same who afterwards nearly blinded his master in a fight with snow-balls, by the violence with which he struck him in the eye with one of these sportive missiles. And “ Fugger’s Ehrenspiegel” has recorded how this chivalrous monarch was rescued from the prison into which he had been cast by the men of Bruges, through the courage and ingenuity of his faithful jester, the well known Kunz von der Rosen; an incident which has been copied, almost literally, by Sir Walter Scott, into Ivanhoe, in that scene, so familiar to our readers, where Wamba enters the prison as a shaven monk,—a scene full of pathos in the work of the novelist, but not more so than in the pages of the chronicler of Maximilian’s danger and Kunz’s fidelity.

If a love of fun and humour thus prevailed among the rulers of Germany, one of whom, Otto the Cheerful, took his distinctive appellation from the joviality of his disposition, it is but reasonable to suppose that it obtained with equal earnestness among all classes of their subjects; and we can readily understand that these

"merry jests," the very antipodes of the heroic romances, were not only received with the highest favour generally, but became especial favourites with those burghers and citizens, who, contemned and oppressed by the nobles, found a peculiar gratification in the mocking irreverence and biting raillery, scattered through the pages of these quaint old merriments, against every thing which those very nobles were wont to prize.

We should also bear in mind, that the majority of the Comic Romances of Germany, arose, or rather assumed their present form, in that merry century—that golden age of court jesters, the era of Gonella, of Brusquet and of Triboulet—the time when Kunz von der Rosen and Claus Narr were plying their sportive calling in the imperial court. At this period, tales of the nature of those which we are now considering would appear to have abounded, for in the curious Latin Poem prefixed to the "*Paræmia Ethicae*" (Francof. 1589) of Bruno Seidelius, mention is made of many popular histories then in vogue, some of which are now no longer known to exist.

"Quis non legit quid *Frater Rauschius* egit?  
Et qui *Smosmannum* cupiunt audire per annum  
Turpia dicentem, vel *Suarmum* spurca loquentem?  
Quique legunt *Pfaffi Calenbergi* facta vel *Affis*?"

Of the stories here mentioned, that of Friar Rush alone has been long familiar to the English reader, while the German version of his history has been but recently unearthed.\* Those of Smosmannus and Suarmus would seem to have disappeared entirely, only to be recovered, if ever so, by some such fortuitous event as gave back to us the "Hundred Merry Tales" from which Beatrice was accused of having borrowed her good wit. With Pfaff Amis and the Parson of Kalenberg our readers shall forthwith be made acquainted.

To judge from the form in which it has been handed down to us, the story of the Pfaff Amis or Affis, as related by the Stricker, and which Benecke has printed in his "*Beyträge*" from a manuscript of the latter end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the first of the series in point of age; and certainly the most interesting to us as Englishmen, from the fact of its hero being represented as a native of this country:—

"Er het hūs in Engellant,  
In einer stat ze Trānis,  
Unt hiez der phaffe Amis!"

\* See Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 35.

† Benecke, *Beyträge zur Kenntniss der Alt Deutschen Sprache und Litteratur. Zweyte Hälfte.* Seite 493—608. The poem, according to Docen, appears to have been printed in 4to, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and even earlier.

and which his name, Amis, or Ames, as it is now written, would seem to confirm.

The Pfaff Amis was a wise and liberal man, who, from his estimable qualities, became an object of the jealousy and oppression of his superiors. Like Chaucer's Parson,

" Full loth were him to cursen for his tithes,  
But rather wolde he yeven out of doute,  
Unto his poure parishens aboue  
Of his offring, and eke of his substance."

As his living appears to have returned him something more than a mere *living*, his bishop, like some great men in our own times, proposed to appropriate to himself "the surplus revenues;" a proposal to which Amis, having the same old-fashioned notions of right and justice which distinguish many of his successors, was by no means willing to accede. His refusal to resign this surplus irritated the bishop, who threatened to deprive him of his benefice; before taking this step, however, he adopted the plan now so generally practised, of issuing a "Commission of Inquiry" touching the same. The bishop was, in this instance, "himself his own commission"—an example said not to be without a parallel in our days—and his examination into the qualifications of the humble priest was carried on so vigorously, that nothing but the firmness and ready-wittedness of the refractory delinquent saved him from all the pains and penalties of "an appropriation clause." The bishop's questions were not of that pounds, shillings and pence character which such inquiries invariably assume in these utilitarian times, nor did they touch upon the articles of the church or the Targum of Onkelos: they were directed rather to fathoming the depth of the poor priest's "mother-wit," and which very speedily proved to be far too deep for his reverence.

The questions, indeed, were the same which were afterwards proposed to Master "Owlglass," and which that merry knave and our waggish priest have answered with wondrous unanimity. The bishop commences as follows:—

" Answer straight—such is my pleasure,  
How much does the ocean measure?  
Think, for certes you'll find it ill,  
To tell me too much, or too little—  
For it would so much enrage me,  
Nought but your Church could assuage me."\*

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\* " Saget mir, wie vil des meres ist;  
Der rede enlax ich iuch niht vie;  
Unde bedenket iuch vil eben 6.

Our priest, nothing daunted, undertakes to solve the question:—

“ A hair's breadth, I will not misstate it,  
But lest I should overrate it,  
See, of all those streams that flow in,  
That you let not one drop go in ;  
I'll measure then and let you see  
The quantum to a nicety.”\*

The bishop declined the task thus allotted him, and proceeded to demand how many days had passed since the time of Adam.—“ Seven,” quoth the priest;

“ And long as this world shall endure,  
There will be neither more nor fewer.”†

This answer was no more satisfactory than the first had been ; and the bishop having inquired angrily, “ whereabouts the middle of the globe was to be found,” was not much better pleased at being told, “ the Church he coveted stood on the very spot, and that he might convince himself, if he had any doubt of the fact, by letting one of his servants make the necessary measurements.”

The bishop, being repeatedly foiled, after the same fashion, by the ready answers which our hero made to all his inquiries, at length declared his willingness to believe in the correctness of those replies, provided Amis would promise to teach an ass to read : a task which the wily priest undertook as readily as Eulenspiegel did, when he received a similar proposal. “ But,” said he, “ it takes twenty years to make a man read and reason properly ; you, therefore, must not grumble, if I take thirty years to make the ass a scholar.” And he said this, calculating that it was very improbable that they should all three, that is to say, the ass, himself, and the bishop, live thirty years, and the death of either of them would necessarily end the business. The bishop, having admitted the justice of this proposal, promised to call in a short time to see the progress of this extraordinary pupil. He kept his word, and made a very early visit, and great was his astonishment at beholding the advances which the poor ass had made in

Saget ir mir minner oder mē,  
Ich tuon in solben zovn aehn,  
Das diu Kirche manc verloren stu.”—v. 103—8.

\* “ Ich liugiu niht als umbe ein hār,  
Endunket es iuch niht vil wār,  
Sō machet il mir stille stē  
Diu wasser diu dar in gen,  
Sō missichs, und lāse iuch sehen,  
Daz ir mir nach mōezen jehen.”—line 113—118.

† “ Swie lange disiu werlt stē  
Ivn wirt doch minner noch mē.” v. 129, 130.

his studies, for Master Amis had fed him by putting oats between the leaves of an old book, which the animal of course readily turned over, for the purpose of getting at his food. Accordingly, when the bishop called, and a book was placed before the ass, the leaves of which he turned over with great facility, his reverence was fain to admit that the poor brute was getting on with his learning far more quickly than could reasonably be expected. And when the ass, on not finding any oats between the leaves, expressed his disappointment by braying, and the bishop was told that he was pronouncing the first letter of the alphabet, A, (with the broad German sound), his belief in the priest's ability to turn the silly beast into a good scholar was perfectly confirmed. The death of the bishop, however, which followed shortly after this visit, released the ass from further study, and Amis from further fears, on account of the covetousness of his ecclesiastical superior. But, like an unhappy suitor in the Court of Chancery, though he gained his cause, he was ruined by his success. His reputation for wit and wisdom was spread far and wide, and brought him such crowds of visitors, that his means, though ample, were totally inadequate to the expenses which this celebrity entailed upon him. At length, being completely ruined, Amis, from being a man of unparalleled liberality and virtue, became at once a miserly knave and deceiver. Having found, by woful experience, a good course of life highly prejudicial to his worldly interests, he renounced his former principles, and resolved to turn his cunning and shrewdness to good account, and to draw from them all the advantages which circumstances might enable him.

He commenced his career of roguery by becoming a dealer in relics, and, having prevailed on the priest of a certain country, by the promise of half the offerings he should collect, to let him hold forth in his church, he displayed before a crowded congregation, as a most precious relic, the head of St. Brandan, who had commanded him to collect moneys wherewith to found a monastery. He then called upon those who heard him to contribute liberally towards that holy object, but at the same time warned all those who had ever secretly violated the laws of virtue, to stand aside, and not to presume to offer their profane gifts. His discourse had the effect he intended it to have, and no sooner was it concluded, than all his hearers hastened to contribute with the greatest profuseness: those who had not the wherewithal borrowing of their neighbours, that they might avoid the stigma which the fact of their not giving could not fail to attach to them. The booty thus obtained proved a rich one; and, after sharing it with his fellow priest, he rode forth with a well-filled purse, and

a reputation for piety and devotion, which enabled him to lay other congregations under contribution, with the same beneficial result.

Our adventurer now visited Paris, where he announced himself to be a painter, so skilled in the mysteries of his profession, that he could decorate a house or room with paintings, so curiously contrived that they should be imperceptible to all who were not really and truly legitimate. The king determined to make a trial of his skill, and promised him three hundred marks if he would paint a certain tower of the palace. Amis agreed, upon condition that he was well supplied with wine, fish, and meat of the best, during the time that he was so employed, and further, that no one should enter the tower before the work, which he expected would occupy him about six weeks, was concluded. The king readily assented to these conditions. The six weeks passed, and at the end of that time his majesty was admitted to behold the handiwork of this extraordinary artist, and great was his dismay on finding that he could see nothing but the bare walls, a fact which convinced him of his mother's dishonour and his own illegitimacy. Fearful of the result of this discovery, if made known to his courtiers, he cunningly expressed his admiration of the pictures, and inquired of Amis what they were intended to represent. Amis described them as being the pictures of Solomon, David, Absalom, Alexander the Great, and sundry other worthies, and the king professed himself to be so perfectly delighted with his skill that, as a mark of his royal favour, he commanded all the nobles who came to view those wondrous works of art to bestow some present on the artist, as a reward for his extraordinary talents. Money, jewels, raiment, swords and shields, were accordingly offered in profusion to Master Amis by the nobles, who were not less amazed than their royal master had been before them, when they found themselves unable to distinguish the smallest trace of the paintings. Like their sovereign, however, they had too much judgment to avow a blindness, which, by betokening their illegitimacy, would prove them to be the unlawful possessors of their several principalities and dukedoms. They strove, therefore, as did their fair consorts too, to outvie each other in their praises of this incomparable artist; who took care to retire from Paris, with his riches and his honours blushing thick upon him, long before the cheat was discovered.

From Paris he proceeded to Lorraine, where he gave himself out for a physician, and was, as such, heartily welcomed by the duke, many of whose subjects stood in great need of the advice of one of that calling. Amis undertook, for a hundred marks, to cure all the sick, and that within a week; and this he accomplished

after Eulenspiegel's fashion, by announcing his intention of killing the worst among them, that he might with his blood effect the restoration to health of all the rest; an announcement which had the effect of making all the invalids instantly confess themselves cured—a confession which they all repeated to the duke, who thereupon paid Master Amis the stipulated reward.

After quitting Lorraine, he resumed his old calling of a 'pardonner,'

" And of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,  
Ne was there swich an other pardonere."

While following this profitable calling, he employed a confederate to discover where there lived those persons who combined great riches with a great fondness for religion. On one occasion, having procured a live fowl, which he concealed under his cloak, he betook himself, at the close of evening, to the residence of a noble lady, and solicited refreshment and shelter for the night. Both were instantly granted; a fowl was readily killed for the supper of the wayfaring priest, and as readily devoured by him. When all had retired to rest, he put the live fowl in the place from which the one he had supped on had been taken, and at daybreak, when the others began to crow, this did so likewise; whereupon Amis called up his attendant, bade him fetch a light, and when they found the fowl, he pronounced it a miracle, and a sign wrought to manifest to the good lady that whatsoever she should bestow on him would be restored to her two-fold; after which he performed mass, and, as may be supposed, was sent away loaded with gifts.

On another occasion, he obtained from a fair penitent, in the absence of her husband, a hundred ells of beautiful linen. On the return of the knight, who held these mendicant priests in little esteem, he fell into a desperate rage at the manner in which his wife had been imposed upon, and, mounting his horse, rode after Amis, determined to get back the cloth, and to punish him as an impostor. Our adventurer, who always had his wits about him, no sooner perceived a horseman giving him chace, than he suspected his object, and, being determined to turn his anger to good account, he struck a light, which he thrust into the middle of the linen cloth, and awaited the coming up of his pursuer. All turned out just as he had anticipated. The knight reproached him with his imposture, and demanded the restoration of the cloth, which Amis instantly handed to him, threatening him at the same time with the divine vengeance for his mal-treatment of a servant of Holy Church. The rider, disregarding these threats, took the cloth and rode away with it; but he had not proceeded far when the linen burst into flames, and convinced the astonished

knight that he had sinned grievously by his behaviour to the holy man, whose prayers in behalf of his sinful self, and his wife, he, after much entreaty, succeeded in obtaining for "a certain consideration."

After sundry cheats and contrivances of a similar nature, Pfaff Amis returned to England, and, as might be expected on his arrival, in what Napoleon was pleased to term the "Nation of Shopkeepers," he turned merchant; and, having arrayed himself sumptuously, as merchants in those days were wont to do, took his departure for Constantinople, whence, after playing sundry pranks, one of which, at least, deserves to be recorded, he returned to his native home.

It chanced, when on the look-out for merchandize, or perhaps, to speak more correctly, for prey, that Amis encountered a jeweller who had a stock of gems to dispose of, for which he asked a thousand marks. After much debating, a bargain was eventually struck between the parties for six hundred; and they sealed the compact—with sundry libations of good wine. Amis took this opportunity to order his servants to remove the jewels, but the merchant was not so far overpowered by the good liquor as to give them up without receiving payment for them. After some time, however, he consented to do so, upon Amis promising to take him to a friend, who would be security for the money. In the evening, Amis called on a physician, and offered him sixty marks to cure his "poor father," whom he described as being mad; the evidence of it being his charging Amis with owing him money. The physician promised a speedy and effectual cure; whereupon Amis went for the merchant, who in the belief that he was going to the party who would be answerable for Amis's payments, readily accompanied him to the house of the physician. His conduct in demanding the money due to him corroborated Amis's statement so perfectly, that the doctor instantly shaved his head, and adopted the most vigorous measures to cure him of his supposed madness; while Amis, having promised the doctor thirty marks on the following morning, left the house, and, embarking on board ship, sailed instantly for England.

Amis not appearing on the following morning, according to promise, the doctor was led to suspect that he had been deceived. At the request therefore of the merchant, his wife was sent for. Much was she hurt at seeing her husband in such a piteous plight: but great as was the shock, it did not prevent her asking the question nearest her heart: "Well, my dear, what have you done about the money?"—"For God's sake!" said the poor man, remembering what he had undergone—"say not a word about it; for if you do, you will be set down for as mad as I am, and

treated after the same fashion." The physician, who now saw clearly how matters stood, took great credit to himself for the wondrous cure he had effected, and generously offered to release his patient, upon his paying him the thirty marks which Amis had promised him that very morning—an offer, which, as he who made it was the physician to the court, the well-fleeced merchant deemed it prudent to accept.

On his arrival in England, Amis appears to have repented him of his misdeeds, and to have returned once more to the goodly life he had been wont to lead. He retired to a monastery, where his conduct was so exemplary that, on the death of the reigning abbot, he was chosen his successor, and filled the duties of the office in a manner most worthy of the imitation of the brotherhood, and most serviceable to his own salvation.

Such is "a picture in little" of the life and adventures of Pfaff Amis, respecting which Gervinus says,—" He can be but little capable of distinguishing between joyousness and a malicious delight in the misfortunes of others, who regards all these tricks as strokes of humour. But we see from the old Reynardine stories, that, among a rude people, a jest, however cruel, is looked upon as a jest still: and it has been repeatedly noticed by travellers, that wild and savage nations find a childish pleasure in practising deceptions, especially upon strangers;"—hard words, but justly applicable to many portions of the story of Amis, of whom, be it remembered, that he was but one of three such priestly *Scapins*, whose adventures have been handed down to us. He is the first only of that triad, of which the Parson of Calemburg and Peter Lew are no unimportant members.

It may surprise the reader, to find so many of the inferior members of the religious communities of the times taking upon themselves characters so utterly at variance with their sacred calling. But so far is this conduct from being unfrequent or extraordinary, that the practice obtained formerly to such an extent as to call the attention of the church to the best means of remedying it; as is proved by the fact that one of the statutes of the church of Cahors expressly forbids all ecclesiastics to become jesters, goliards, or buffoons.\*

Whether such a person as Amis ever existed is doubtful. For though there is reason to believe that the Stricker, in recording his history, has done little more than put into verse the stories that were current at the time, still no historical evidence of his existence has yet been discovered.

\* " Item præcipimus, quod Clerici non sint *Joculatores, Goliardi, seu Bufones*, declarantes, quod si per annum artem illam defamatoriam exercuerint, omni privilegio ecclesiastico sunt nudati, et etiam temporaliter graviori, si moniti non destiterint."—*Statuta Eccl. Cadurc. apud Marten.* Tom. iv. *Anecd. Col.* 727.

Such is not the case with the worthy, whose story we now propose to examine—the Parson of Calemburg.

History is so far from passing over in silence the name of Weigand von Theben—to give this facetious son of Holy Church his proper title—that the chronicles contain frequent allusion to him, and to the mad pranks with which he was wont to delight his great patron, Duke Otto the Cheerful. Not only do Bebelius, Manlius, Rauscher, and Dionysius Melander refer to him, but he is also, in conjunction with Eulenspiegel, mentioned in Luther's Commentary on "Ecclesiasticus." While Fugger again, in his *Ehrenspiegel des Erzhauses Oesterreich*, having mentioned the celebrated Neidhart Fuchs, as one of the two merry counsellors of the jovial duke, proceeds to say,—“The other was Weigand von Theben, commonly called the Parson of Calemburg, whose tricks filled a little book, which was formerly very much read, but is now no longer to be met with. The best story among them is, that he once took a basket full of skulls to the top of a mountain, and emptying it there, exclaimed, as he saw them roll down, each pursuing a different course, ‘So many heads, so many opinions! If they do thus when they are dead, what would they have done had they been alive?’” Many editions of the little book here referred to are now known to have existed; two of them, it is said, being in prose—but not one of those which have been preserved contains the anecdote just related. An edition in verse, of the year 1620, is the one which von der Hagen has reprinted in the curious collection, the title of which is prefixed to the present article, and from which the following particulars have been derived.

A burgher of Vienna, holding a seat in the council, had a student named Weigand von Theben, a shrewd and ready-witted knave, who, following his master one day to market, and seeing a crowd of people gathered round an enormous fish, for which the fisherman asked more than any of them was disposed to give, bethought him,

“I'll buy that fish, if I am able,  
For well 'twould grace a prince's table”—

and immediately solicited from his master the loan of a sum sufficient to enable him to buy the fish, and which the worthy burgher lent readily, on hearing what he intended to do with his purchase.

“I'll please myself—for that's my motto;  
And faith I'll give it to duke Otto.”

This was, however, more easily said than done. On his going to the residence of the duke, he could not obtain admission until he had promised the door-keeper an equal share of whatsoever pre-

sent he might receive from the duke in return. This Weigand readily assented to, and when Otto desired him to say what reward he should bestow on him, he begged that he might be ordered a hearty scourging. With this strange request Otto complied unhesitatingly, as soon as he learned the cause which induced our hero to make it. The porter was soundly drubbed, and so was Weigand; the latter receiving ample amends in the promise of a living—a promise which was no sooner made than fulfilled: the death of the old parson of Calemburg taking place at the very time, and Weigand being immediately appointed his successor. Weigand's first act, on taking possession of his living, was of a piece with all that followed it, and well calculated to astonish the natives of Calemburg. In consequence of the dilapidated state of the roof, the rain poured into every part of the church. Our parson, having exhorted his congregation to contribute towards its restoration, offered them their choice as to which portion of the roof they would repair—that over the altar, or that over the chancel. "Over the altar," said they, laughing to themselves, "it is a very small part; let the parson roof in the chancel!" But, the parson, when he found he could stand at the altar, and perform the service under shelter, troubled his head no more about the matter; while his congregation, who wished to keep as dry as their priest, found that they had no other alternative than to repair the rest of the roof.

We pass over the next and following adventure, that we may give a story from a quaint old English translation of "The Parson of Kalenborow," of which a black-letter fragment is preserved in the curious library of the late Mr. Douce; and which affords direct proof of that "intimate connexion between the vernacular writers of Germany and England" at an early period, which has been before alluded to in the pages of this Review.\*

"The parson of Kalenborow had wine in his cellar which was marred, and because he would have no loss by it, he practised a wile to be rid of it; and caused it to be published in many parishes thereabouts, that the parson of Kalenborow, at a day assigned, would fly over the river of Tonowa from the steeple of his own church, and this he proclaimed in his own parish also; and then he caused two wings of peacock's feathers to be made, and also he caused his naughty wines to be brought under the church-steeple, whereon he should stand for to flee over the river. And he gave the clerk charge of his wine, because he should sell it well, and dear to the most profit. And when the day was come that the parson should fly, many one came thither to see the marvel from far countries: and then the parson went upon the steeple, arrayed like an angel ready for to fly, and there he flickered oftentimes his wings, but he stood

\* See *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV. (No. XXVIII) page 467.

still. In the mean while that the people stood so to behold him, the sun shone hot, and they had great thirst, for the priest did not fly. And he saw that, and beckoned to them, saying 'Ye good people, my time is not yet come for to fly, but tarry awhile and ye shall see what I shall do.' And then the people went and drank apace of this that they saw there for to sell ; and they drank so long that they could get no more wine for money, and cried out for drink, and made great *preise*. And within a little while after, the clerk came to the parson, and said 'Sir, your wine is all sold and well paid for, though there had been more.' The parson, being very glad of these tidings, began to flicker with his wings again, and called with a loud voice unto the people, saying, 'Hark ! Hark ! Hark ! is there any among you all that ever saw a man have wings or fly ?' Then stepped one forth, and said, 'Nay, sir, nay.' The parson answered again, and said, 'Nor never shall, by my fay ; therefore go your ways home, every one, and say that ye have drank up the parson of Kalenborow's evil wines, and paid for it well ; and truly more than ever it cost him !' Then were the 'vilaynes or paysannes, marvellously angry, and in their language cursed the parson perilously, some with a mischief and vengeance ; and some said, 'God give him an hundred *drouse*, for he hath made among us many a fool and toting ape.' But the parson cared not for all their curses. And this subtle deed was spread all the country about."

This and other tricks having come to the ears of his superior, the Bishop of Passau, he was summoned before him. The bishop was nearly blind, and our parson suggested to him a remedy, the nature of which we cannot particularize, but which proved upon trial to have an effect the very reverse of what the poor old man had anticipated. This was, of course, but little pleasing to him, and still less so were the circumstances under which our waggish priest discovered his episcopal lord in an intrigue with his cellar-woman. His conduct in this affair made the bishop so indignant, that he commanded him to put away his young housekeeper, and supply her place with one forty years old,—an injunction with which he complied, if not to the spirit, at least to the letter, by taking two who were each twenty, which he pronounced to be just the same thing, but far more agreeable.

The foregoing specimens of the life and adventures of this frolicsome parson will furnish a tolerably accurate notion of the work, and of the humour with which it is written. The parts we have given have not been selected as the best, but as the foremost, portion of the book ; and, had our limits allowed it, other stories not less droll,—such as the parson's being discovered by the Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria, the wife of his patron Otto, standing beside a brook, *in puris naturalibus*, washing his linen,—his reception of that princess when she visited him,—his converting the twelve wooden images of the apostles into firewood, &c. &c. might have been selected for the reader's amusement. But, we

have other works to treat of, and must hasten to their consideration.

Our notice of the stories of "Pfaff Amis" and "Der Pfarrherr vom Kalemburg" has been extended to a length which, while, on the one hand, it precludes us from particularizing with equal fulness the shifts and contrivances of their rival, "Peter Lew," or, "Der Andere Kalemberger," as he is styled by his biographer,—on the other, renders it unnecessary for us to do so, seeing that the tricks, jests, and rogueries of this sportive trio bear so strong a resemblance to each other.

Peter Lew was born at Hall, and was of such extraordinary strength as to be enabled to lift from the floor, with outstretched arm, a man in full armour standing in his hand, and to place him on the table,—a feat by which he acquired his name of *Lew*, or *Lion*.

After sundry endeavours to earn a living, now as a tanner's servant, now as an artilleryman in the war against the Armagnacs, Peter resolved to turn priest, and at thirty years of age entered the school at Hall to learn the very rudiments of education. After studying four years, he was made the priest of Reiden. Here he fared very badly; but being appointed assistant to the parson of Western, he contrived, by the exercise of a little ingenuity, to live tolerably well, much against his patron's intention. For when Peter took his meals at home, the cook had directions to supply the table with very meagre fare; but to furnish it with every thing of the best, when he was at the bath, or in the city. No sooner did Peter make this discovery, than he revenged himself by drowning the parson's fowls in the brook, and when they were found, and about to be thrown away, begging the cook to dress them or him. But better still, he won the affections of the cook, who rewarded him after the fashion most grateful to a man of his gastronomic abilities.

We pass over the stories of Peter's hanging the peasant's ass for grazing in the churchyard, and of his finding a hot cake under the cloth of the altar, &c. that we may tell how he frightened his parishioners in the garb of a spirit.

"It was St. Martin's day, when the peasants are wont to hold their feast of geese, that the sexton's son came to Peter, saying, 'My father is sending me into the city to purchase bread and wine; will you go with me, or can I purchase any thing for you?' Peter answering both these questions in the negative, the youth set forth alone; and before he had completed his purchases, the sun had sunk to rest. Peter, who had determined to possess himself by stratagem of the good things purchased for the sexton, betook himself to the stump of an old oak tree, standing on a little hillock just without the village, and which had been carved into the pedestal for an image; and, crouching down upon it, awaited the

arrival of the lad. No sooner did the youth reach the spot, than Peter stood up at his full height, clapping his hands, gnashing his teeth, and uttering the most frightful cries. As was to be expected, the boy fled from the supposed emissary of Beelzebub, and left his store of good things a prey to the evil one. As soon as Peter saw that the coast was clear, he carried home his booty, and, emptying the wine, returned with the empty flasks, which he scattered about the scene of his late adventure. So that when the sexton, who accompanied his son back to the dreaded spot, found bread and wine both missing, he supposed the dogs had run away with the first, and that the latter had been spilt in the confusion. The sexton and his son now consulted Peter on the subject, who, though he would not undertake to speak positively till three days were past, yet declared his belief that the lad had seen a malignant spirit, who would do him some injury, if he did not avert the threatened evil by a suitable offering made to his worshipful self. The sexton, who was but little inclined to part with his money, laughed at the idea, and Peter, renewing his warning of impending danger, left him. On the third evening after this, while the villagers were assembled in the spinning-house, and amusing each other by the recital of tales of 'Berchtold' and the 'Wild Host,' our roguish priest, dressed in a white sheet, and mounted on a horse of the same colour, rode swiftly past the house, blowing loudly on a horn. The company looked out, and saw nothing but his shadow:

"After a while, his horn again  
Was heard ; the villagers in vain  
To see him tried. Until once more,  
Blowing still louder than before,  
He rode that house so slowly by,  
As to be seen by every eye.  
The sexton's wife was struck aghast  
As the pale spectre glided past,  
And to her spouse cried—dreading evil—  
'Oh, Lorenz love ! sure its the D—l.'

The poor woman fell ill in consequence; and Peter turned her alarm to his advantage, by saying that, had her son followed his advice, she would not have been laid upon a bed of sickness; and cautioning her, if she did not wish to be honoured with another visitation from the spirit, that she would do wisely to pay him to say masses for its repose—a hint which, as it may be supposed, was very readily acted upon.

It forms no part of our present purpose to compare these points of German humour with similar works, the production of our fatherland,—to wit, "The King and the Abbot of Canterbury," printed by Percy, and others of a like character. We shall therefore proceed to another division of these romances, and, quitting the consideration of individual knaves, turn our attention to collective fools.

Every nation has its merry people, who form the butt and

laughing-stock of their countrymen. Greece had its *Abdera*,—Hindostan its *Sivri-Hissar*. England laughs at its “*Madmen of Gotham*,”\* and Germany at the *wiseacres of Schilda*. For the *Schildburghers* are the *Gothamites* of Germany, and their history is one of the most amusing, of the amusing class of books to which it belongs.

The history of the *Schildburghers*, or the “*Lalenbuch*,” for by both these names is this book called, contains a number of stories, which, after being current for years among the people, were collected towards the close of the sixteenth century—(the earliest known edition is that of 1597)—by no unlettered hand into the present work, which has retained, ever since it first appeared, its original popularity. There have, indeed, been few happier ideas, than that of making these simpletons descend from one of the wise men of Greece; and representing them as originally gifted with such extraordinary talents, as to be called to the councils of all the princes of the earth, to the great detriment of their circumstances, and the still greater dissatisfaction of their wives; and then, upon their being summoned home to arrange their disordered affairs, determining in their wisdom to put on the garb of stupidity, and persevering so long and so stedfastly in their assumed character, as to prove “plain fools at last.” No way inferior is the end of this strange tale, which assumes even somewhat of serious interest, when the *Schildburghers*, after performing every conceivable piece of folly, and receiving the especial privilege of so doing under the seal and signature of the emperor, by the crowning act of their lives turn themselves out of house and home; whereby

\* One of the earliest collections of such stories in England is to be found in a manuscript of the beginning of the thirteenth century, which is preserved in the Public Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is a satirical Latin poem on the people of Norfolk, to whom it attributes all sorts of stupid actions; as the following extract, for which we are indebted to our accomplished friend, Mr. Thomas Wright, will sufficiently demonstrate:

“ *Ad forum ambulant diebus singulis,  
Saccum de lolio portant in humeris;  
Jumentis, ne noceant bene fatuis,  
Ut prelocutus sum, equantur bestiis.*  
Post forum protinus tabernam adeunt,  
*Quod bene noscimus, bibunt et rebibunt;*  
*Postquam sunt ebrii, quod loqui nesciunt,  
Jumentum scandere cadentes nequeunt.*  
‘*Sta,’ dicit Rusticus, ‘Fauvel ut consulo,  
Paulisper sustine dum sursum fuero.’*  
‘*Ad centum demones vade continuo,  
Atque ad dominum ne redeas denuo.’*  
In domo propria sedent ad prandium,  
Et si quis veniens pulsat ad ostium,  
‘*Non sumus,’ dicunt, ‘nunc ad hospitium;  
Vade ad demones, veni cras iterum.’*”

they are compelled, like the Jews, to become outcasts and wanderers over the face of the earth—by which means it has arisen that there is no spot, however remote, on which some of their descendants, who may be known by their characteristic stupidity, are not to be found.

It is impossible to detail a tenth part of the acts of stupidity gravely attributed to these simpletons; whose first piece of folly was to build a council-house without windows. When they entered it, and to use the words of the nursery ballad, “saw they couldn’t see,” they were greatly puzzled to account for such a state of things, and having in vain gone outside, and examined the building to find why the inside was dark, they determined to hold a council upon the subject on the following day. At the time appointed they assembled, each bringing with him a torch, which, on seating himself, he stuck in his hat. After much discussion, one genius brighter than the rest, decided that they could not see for want of daylight, and that they ought on the morrow to carry in as much of it as possible. Accordingly the next day, when the sun shone, all the sacks, bags, boxes, baskets, tubs, pans, &c. of the village were filled with its beams, and then carefully carried into the council-house, and emptied there, but with no good effect. After this they removed the roof by the advice of a traveller, whom they rewarded amply for the suggestion. This plan answered famously during the summer, but when the rains of winter fell, and they were forced to replace the roof, they found the house just as dark as ever. Again they met, again stuck their torches in their hats, and again deliberated, but to no purpose; until, by chance, one of them was quitting the house, and groping his way along the wall, when a ray of light fell through a crevice, and upon his beard. Whereupon he suggested, what had never before occurred to any of them, that it was possible they might get daylight in by making a window!

We will now give another specimen or two of their peculiar talent:—

“The Boors of Schilda had built a mill, and with extraordinary labour they had quarried a millstone for it, out of a quarry which lay on the summit of a high mountain; and when the stone was finished they carried it, with great labour and pain, down the hill. When they had got to the bottom, it occurred to one of them, that they might have spared themselves the trouble of carrying it down, by letting it roll down. ‘Verily,’ said he, ‘we are the stupidest of fools, to take these extraordinary pains to do that which we might have done with so little trouble. We will carry it up, and then let it roll down the hill by itself, as we did, before, with the trees which we felled for our council-house.’ This counsel pleased them all, and with still greater labour

they carried the stone to the top of the mountain again, and were about to roll it down, when one of them said, ' But how shall we know where it runs to ? who will be able to tell us aught about it ? ' ' Why,' said the bailiff, who had advised the stone's being carried up again, ' this is very easily managed ; one of us must stick in this hole, (for the millstone had of course a great hole in the middle,) and run down with it.' This was agreed to, and one of them, having been chosen for the purpose, thrust his head through the hole and ran down the hill with the millstone.

" Now at the bottom of the mountain was a deep fish-pond, into which the stone rolled, and the simpleton with it, so that the Schildburghers lost both stone and man, and not one among them knew what had become of them. And they felt sadly angered against their old companion who had run down the hill with the stone, for they considered that he had carried it off, for the purpose of disposing of it. So they published a notice in all the neighbouring boroughs, towns, and villages, calling on them, ' If any one came there with a millstone round his neck, that they should treat him as one who had stolen the common goods, and give him to justice.' But the poor devil lay in the pond, dead. Had he been able to speak, he would have been willing to tell them not to worry themselves on his account, for he would give them their own again. But his load pressed so heavily upon him, and carried him so deep in the water, that he, after drinking water enough—more, indeed, than was good for him—died, and he is dead at the present day ; and dead he will, shall, and must remain."

One more specimen, and we have done ; and it shall be the 44th chapter, which tells " How the Schildburghers purchased a mouser, and with it their own ruin."

" Now it happened that there were no cats in Schilda, and so many mice, that nothing was safe, even in the bread-basket ; for whatsoever they put there, was sure to be gnawed or eaten ; and this grieved them sorely. And upon a time there came a traveller into the village, carrying a cat in his arms, and he entered the hostel. The host asked him, ' What sort of a beast is that ? ' Said he, ' It is a mouser.' Now the mice at Schilda were so quiet and so tame, that they never fled before the people, but ran about all day long without the slightest fear. So the traveller let the cat run, who, in the sight of the host, soon caught numbers of mice.

" Now when the people were told this by the host, they asked the man whether the mouser was to be sold, for they would pay him well for it. He said, ' It certainly was not to be sold, but seeing that it would be so useful to them, he would let them have it, if they would pay him what was right ; ' and he asked a hundred florins for it. The boors were glad to find that he asked so little, and concluded a bargain with him, he agreeing to take half the money down, and to come again in six months to fetch the rest. As soon as the bargain was struck on both sides, they gave the traveller the half of his money, and carried the mouser into the granary where they kept their corn, for there were

most mice there. The traveller went off with the money at full speed, for he feared greatly lest they should repent them of the bargain and want their money back again ; and as he went along he kept looking behind him, to see that no one was following him.

" Now the boors had forgotten to ask what the cat was to be fed upon ; so they sent one after him in haste, to ask him the question. But when he with the gold saw that some one was following him, he hastened so much the more, so that the boor could by no means overtake him ; whereupon he called out to him from afar off, ' What does it eat ? what does it eat ? ' ' What you please, what you please,' quoth the traveller. But the peasant understood him to say, ' Men and beasts, men and beasts : ' therefore he returned homeward in great affliction, and said as much to his worthy masters. On learning this they became greatly alarmed, and said, ' When it has no more mice to eat, it will eat our cattle ; and when they are gone it will eat us. To think that we should lay out our good money in buying such a thing ! ' And they held council together, and resolved that the cat should be killed ; but no one would venture to lay hold of it for that purpose. Whereupon it was determined to burn the granary and the cat in it, seeing that it was better they should suffer a common loss, than all lose life and limb. So they set fire to the granary.

" But when the cat smelt the fire, it sprang out of a window and fled to another house ; and the granary was burned to the ground. Never was there sorrow greater than that of the Schildburghers, when they found that they could not kill the cat. They counselled with one another, and purchased the house to which the cat had fled, and burned that also. But the cat sprang out upon the roof and sate there, washing itself, and putting its paws behind its ears, after the manner of cats. And the Schildburghers understood thereby, that the cat lifted up its hands and swore an oath, that it would not leave their treatment of it unrevenged. Then one of them took a long pole and struck at the cat, but the cat caught hold of the pole and began to clamber down it ; whereupon all the people grew greatly alarmed and ran away, and left the fire to burn as it might. And because no one regarded the fire, nor sought to put it out, the whole village was burnt to a house ; and notwithstanding that, the cat escaped. And the Schildburghers fled, with their wives and children, to a neighbouring forest. And at this time was burned their chancery, and all the papers therein ; which is the reason why their history is not to be found described in a more regular manner."

Here would we willingly have quitted our present subject, first thanking the accomplished editor of the " Narrenbuch," for having collected, in that amusing volume, so choice a collection of early German facetiae ; and which forms but one of his many claims upon the gratitude of all lovers of the middle-age literature of his native land. But though we may pass over in silence the " Jests of Claus Narr," leave untouched " Pauli's Schimpf

und Ernst," and defer, till the publication of Mr. Kemble's promised volume on the subject of " Marcolph," all notice of that mocking spirit, we cannot conclude an article on the comic romances of Germany, without bestowing a few words on Germany's favourite droll—Tyll Eulenspiegel. It would indeed be playing the tragedy of Hamlet, and leaving out the character of the Prince of Denmark, to omit all mention of this most prankish and mischievous Merry Andrew, whose memory still lives in the affections of his countrymen. The house at Kneitlingen, in which he was born,\* is standing at the present day, and his gravestone and monument are still pointed out at Mollen; the inhabitants of which formerly used to keep a feast in memory of him, and to show the apparel he was wont to wear.

His "Life and Adventures," which is said to have been one of Fuseli's pet-books, is supposed to have been originally written in Low German, and the well-known Franciscan Thomas Murner has the credit of being its translator into High German. The earliest known edition, and which is in the latter dialect, is that of 1540, preserved in the Wolfenbüttel Library. But that there formerly existed editions of far earlier date is proved by the fact, that the first English translation of it was made by old Copland; an imperfect copy of whose version, and we believe the only one in existence, is to be found in the Garrick Collection in the British Museum. If translation be a fair test of the popularity of a book, few can adduce stronger claims to the title of popular than Eulenspiegel; for upon few has that honour been more frequently bestowed. We have mentioned one English version; another under the not inappropriate title of the "German Rogue,"† appeared at the commencement of the last century. A translation into Latin verse, by Nemius, entitled "Triumphus Humanæ Stultitiae vel Tylus Saxo," was published in 1558; and

\* The following passage from the *Hettlingish. Sassen Chronik* (p. 185 in *Caspar Adel's Sammlung*) not only proves him to have existed, but shows the date and manner of his death:—

“A. 1350.—Eyne Pestilencien was sere gruwelich over de gantse werlde, dat yt wart geheten de grote Dot, unde sterff so heftigen, dat me in velen steden de Doden moste voren in andere stidden, up andere Kirchhove, dat öre Kirchhove to lüttinck waren; to Brunswick sterff der Bervoeten Kloster de Monicke all uth, up einen kleynen Monik na, de sterfe wart so grot, dat me lovede des hiligen Cruces dages Erhögink to vyren, *de sul fest sterff Ulenpeygel to Möllen* unde de Gheyselen Broden kemen an.”

† As we believe this work to be of the greatest rarity, its full title may be acceptable to some of our readers, “The German Rogue, or the Life and Merry Adventures, Cheats, Stratagems, and Contrivances of Tiel Eulenspiegle.

“ Let none Eulenspiegle's artifices blame,  
For rogues of every country are the same.

“ Made English from the high Dutch. London: printed in the year MDCCLXIX.” 8vo.

another by Periander, who states in the preface that it took him but six weeks to do, was published in 1567. This latter, which its author calls "Noctuæ Speculuin," contains 103 very delicate wood cuts, by Jobst Ammon. There are no fewer than five editions of the French translation; and it has been twice translated into Dutch, and also into Polish. And what is still more curious, advantage was taken of its popularity to make it a party book: and Germany was not only divided into Reformers and Anti-Reformers, but had a version of Eulenspiegel suited to the palates of both parties.

The edition now before us is a sadly modernized version; but it contains some good wood-cuts. We shall, therefore, give a few specimens of the work, which is far too unconnected to admit of a regular analysis, from Master Copland's version; modernizing, in a few instances, his orthography. The first extracts will show, that Owlglas' love of fun and mischief was as strong in him when a child as when he grew to man's estate.

"How that Howleglas, when that he was a child, answered a man that asked the way."

"Upon a time went Howleglas' father and mother out, and left Howleglas within the house. Then came there a man riding half into the door, and asked, 'Is there nobody within?' Then answered the child, 'There is a man and a half and a horse's head.' Then asked the man, 'Where is thy father?' and the child answered and said, 'My father is of ill making worse; and my mother is gone for scathe or shame.' And the man said to the child, 'How understandest thou that?' And the child said, 'My father is making of ill worse, for he ploweth the field, and maketh great holes, that men should fall therein when they ride; and my mother is gone to borrow bread—and when she giveth it again, and giveth less, it is shame, and when she giveth it, and giveth more, it is scathe.' Then said the man, 'Which is the way to ride?' And the child answered and said, 'There, where the geese go.' And then rode the man his way to the geese, and they flew into the water. Then wist he not where to ride, but turned again to the child and said, 'The geese be flown into the water, and thus wot I not what to do, nor whither to ride?' Then answered the child, 'You must ride where as the geese go, and not where they swim.' Then departed the man and rode his way, and marvelled of the answer of the child."

After sundry shifts and contrivances Howleglas was hired of a priest.

"As Howleglas came out of the castle, he came to a village that was called Buddest, in the land of Brounswicke; and there came a priest to Howleglas and hired him; but he knew him not. And the priest said 'he should have good days, and eat and drink the same that he himself and his woman did; and all that should be done with half the labour.'

And then said Howleglas 'that therafter would he do his diligence.' Then dresses the priest's woman two chickens, and she bade Howleglas turn, and so he did. And he looked up and saw that she had but one eye; that when the chickens were done enough, then he brake one of the chickens from the spit, and ate it without any bread. And when it was dinner time, came the woman into the kitchen, where Howleglas turned, and thought to take up the chickens; and when she was come, she found no more there but one chicken. Then said she to Howleglas, 'Where is the other chicken—there were two chickens.' Then answered he to her, 'Lift up your eye and then shall you see the other chicken.' Then was the woman therewith angry, and knew well that Howleglas mocked her; and then she ran to the priest, and told him how she had dressed two chickens, and when she came to take them up, she found but one, and then he mocked me because I had but one eye. Then went the priest to Howleglas, and said, 'Why mock ye my woman: there were two chickens.' Then answered Howleglas, 'I said that was truth. I have said to the woman that she should open her eyes, and she should see well where that other chicken was become.' Then laughed the priest, and said, 'She cannot see, for she hath but one eye.' Then said Howleglas to the priest, 'The one chicken I have eaten; for ye said, I should eat and drink as well as you and your woman; and the one I ate for you, and the other I ate for your woman; for I was afraid that you should have sinned, for the promise that ye promised me, and therefore I made me sure.' Then said the priest, 'I care not for the chickens, but I would have you please my woman, and do after her. Then said Howleglas, 'I do your commandment.' And that the woman bade him do, he did but half. For she bade him fetch a bucket of water, and he went and brought it but half full of water; and when he should bring two logs, he brought but one; and when he should get the beasts two bottles of hay, he gave them but one; and when he should fetch a pot full of beer, he brought it half full; and so did he of many things beside. Then complained she to the priest of Howleglas again. Then said the priest, 'I bade that you should do as she bade you.' And Howleglas answered, 'I have done as ye bade me, for ye said to me that I should do all things with half labour; and your woman would fain see with both eyes, but she seeth with but one eye, and so do I half the labour.' And then the priest laughed. And then said the woman, 'Will you have this ungracious knave any longer; then will I tarry no longer with you, but depart.' Then gave the priest Howleglas leave to depart, for his woman's sake: but when the parish clerk was dead of the village, then sent the priest for Howleglas, and holpe him so much that he was made the parish clerk.'

While engaged in the capacity of parish clerk of Buddenest, Master Howleglas espied a fair opportunity of being revenged of the priest's "leman," for getting him dismissed from his servitude, and as may be supposed he was not slow to avail himself of it.

" And then in the mean season, while Howleglas was parish clerk, at Easter they should play the resurrection of our Lord. And for because then the men were not learned, nor could not read, the priest took his leman and put her in the grave for an angel; and this seeing, Howleglas took to him three of the simplest persons that were in the town, that played the three Marys: and the parson played Christ, with a banner in his hand. Then said Howleglas to the simple persons, ' When the angel asketh you whom you seek, you must say, ' The parson's leman with one eye.' Then it fortuned that the time was come that they must play; and the angel asked them whom they sought; and then said they as Howleglas had showed and learned them afore; and then answered they, ' We seek the priest's leman with one eye.' And then the priest might hear that he was mocked. And when the priest's leman heard that, she arose out of the grave, and would have smitten with her fist Howleglas upon the cheek; but she missed him and smote one of the simple persons that played one of the three Marys; and he gave her another. And then took she him by the ear; and that seeing, his wife came running hastily to smite the priest's leman; and then the priest seeing this, cast down his banner and went to help his woman, so that the one gave the other sore strokes, and made great noise in the church. And then Howleglas, seeing them lying together by the ears in the body of the church, went his way out of the village, and came no more there."

And here we take our leave of *Tyll Eulenspiegel*\* and his associates; and should any of our readers be of opinion that we have bestowed more time upon these mad-wag knaves than they deserve, we will give them Old Copland's excuse for translating the "Merry Jeste of a man that was called Howleglas." "Me-thinke it is better to pass the tyme with such a merry Jest, and laughe thereat, and doe no sin, than for to wepe and do synne."

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\* The adventures of this merry rogue have been illustrated with considerable humour by the graver of Rambert, in a series of 55 plates, under the title of "Tyll Eulenspiegel, in 55 Blättern gezeichnet und radirt." Leipsic, 1820. To the same artist we are also indebted for a set of similar illustrations to that other popular volume of the Germans—Reynard the Fox—whose history was treated of in our pages very recently. See *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XXXIII.

ART. IV.—1. *Biographisch-historische Studien.* (Biographic-historical Studies.) Von Ernst Münch, 2 Bände. 12mo. Stuttgart, 1836.

2. *Erinnerungen, Lebensbilder, und Studien, aus den sieben und dreissig Jahren eines Deutschen Gelehrten, mit Rückblicken auf das öffentliche, politische, intellectuelle, und sittliche Leben, von 1815 bis 1835, in der Schweiz, in Deutschland, und den Niederlanden.* (Recollections, Sketches from the Life, and Studies, during seven and thirty Years, of a German Man of Letters, with Glances at public, political, intellectual and moral Life, from 1815 to 1835, in Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands.) Von Ernst Münch. 8vo. Carlsruhe, 1836.

THESE volumes are genuine productions of the 19th century, the bold, careless, and unlaboured outpourings of a vigorous mind, which the author has not given himself the trouble of digesting and working into a whole. Authors of olden times—we speak not of times beyond the memory of man, but actually within our own—took not such liberties with the public, stood more in awe of criticism. Their works might be good or bad, and we will frankly acknowledge that the authors who flourished in those happy days when we ourselves were young and uncritical, might frequently be inferior in power and originality to their successors; but, good or bad, they produced works, works of art, long and maturely studied, made as perfect as their talents could make them; not a heterogeneous mass of thoughts often original and brilliant, as often or oftener crude and fraught with error, which an hour's labour in reading or reflection would have corrected.

The books now before us are happy illustrations of this class. The first consists of one real and good piece of biography; a life of Sir Walter Raleigh, and of a series of sketches, biographic-historical certainly, but such biographic-historical fragments as might be dashed off at a heat for a magazine or annual, not works, nor portions of works, of biography or history, not works of art, in short. In the first volume these fragments relate to the loves of Leonora of Austria with a Count Palatine, those of the tyrannous Christiern II. of Denmark with his Dutch Dove, the vindication of the philosopher Vanini from the charges of immorality and atheism, and the Acqua Tofana, oddly called by one of the pretty diminutives of Italian endearment, the *Acquette*. In the second volume, we have a comparison between the modern Belgians and those of the sixteenth century; between the treatment by the former of William the Taciturn, to whom the South-

ern provinces might have owed emancipation from the Spanish yoke, had they supported his exertions in the cause of religious liberty and national independence, as did the seven Northern, and that of William I. of the Netherlands—under whom, for the first tithe since the dark ages, they enjoyed anything like independence—by the latter; a somewhat interesting account of the early years of the said King William; a fragment of the life of Demosthenes; an account of a professor at the Freiburg University, of the House of Habsburg in remote ages, of the rebellion of the pseudo-Rienzi, Porcaro, of the unfortunate and perhaps guilty Vittoria Accoramboni; some letters in old German, orthographically hard to decypher, relative to Philip the Fair of Austria's little-interesting visit to England, and a narrative of the fate of the Seigneur de Montigny in Spain.

The second book, with the long-winded title, is the commencement of the autobiography of Ernst Münch, poet, historian, biographer, magazine-writer, professor at the Freiburg University, and what not; a Swabian, transformed diplomatically into a Swiss; which autobiography is intended to be enlivened and illustrated by recollections and sketches of all the individuals with whom the writer is, or has ever been, acquainted. Now, as Münch appears to have seen much and known many persons of consideration, his autobiography and recollections may become very interesting in the subsequent volumes; but he and his friends of Rheinfeld, Aarau and Freiburg, Professors, *Burschen*,\* and *Philistines* inclusive, the sole occupants of the present volume, possess no such European reputation as can make a circumstantial exposition and development of all the thoughts, feelings and pursuits of their childhood and adolescence important in the eyes of English readers. Yet we must modify this assertion; under one point of view they acquire importance. Münch having attained to manhood during the paroxysm of democratic reaction in Germany, consequent upon the disappointment of those political hopes which blossomed upon Napoleon's overthrow, the opinions and feelings here detailed are ultra-republican, *Anglicè* radical, and thus give weight to his subsequent bitter, anti-democratic condemnation of the Belgian insurrection against King William, and to his panegyric of that sovereign. In order that this corroborative effect may be felt, we shall begin with offering an extract or two from the autobiography. The account he gives of the feel-

\* Need we here explain that *Burschen*, *Burschenschaft*, and *Philister* and *Philisterei* (literally boys and boyry—if such a word analogous to soldiery may be coined for the nonce—Philistine and Philistinishness), are slang terms of the young collegians, by the first of which they designate themselves, by the second everything common-place; everything that is not themselves being included in the designation.

ings, views—including a scheme for the emancipation of German Catholicism from the Papal see—and organization of the *Burschenschaft*, now *das Junge Deutschland*, (Young Germany,) with its offsets and opposition branches, is not sufficiently explicit to be intelligible without recurring to other sources of information;—in fact Münch, like others of his class, generally writes for those only who are familiar with his subject—and this is not the occasion for the requisite investigation of the *Burschenschaft*. But we will extract his feelings, and those of his brother enthusiasts for Old-Germanism, respecting the murder of Kotzebue by the student Sand, (by the way, has Madame Dudevant chosen her *nom de guerre*, George Sand, from admiration of this political *auto-da-fé*?) and the punishment of the fanatic assassin.

" This calm, serene, and harmless state of playing with the new doctrines, although I myself had even then the most serious views, (he was then under twenty,) was essentially changed by Sand's deed.

" It was upon a Sunday, in March 1819, that, going from church to the inn where the notables were wont to assemble, I mechanically took up a newspaper, and, tolerably indifferent as to politics, tossed over the leaves; when the words 'Kotzebue has been murdered by a German student,' glared upon my sight. Horror-stricken, I devoured the article and learned the dreadful fact. The lines seemed blood-shot, and danced convulsively before my eyes. The whole incalculable train of consequences which this deed must produce lay in gloomy anticipation before me. I hastened home to examine my papers. A part of the archives of our society was then in my hands; and all that could implicate either myself or others were quickly destroyed, or sealed up and committed by a fair friend to her wardrobe. When I had taken these precautions, I meditated deeply upon the deed, its motives, probable connexion, &c.; and examined, more scrupulously than ever before, the worth of the exertions to which I had pledged myself by joining the union.

" My first impression of abhorrence I depicted in a letter to Zschokke, then at Aarau, who fully concurred in that feeling, lamenting the folly, the insanity, of the murder. But I conceived that this would not be the end; from my knowledge of the disposition of many individuals, I expected something in the style of Pelopidas at Thebes, and that all influential statesmen would, according to the repeated advice of an energetic liberal, now dead, be made away with. Not only did I consider the execution of such a scheme as premature, the nation as unripe for boldly plunging into rebellion upon the impulse of a couple of daring examples, but I detested, from the bottom of my heart, the horrid theory of assassination. This painful state of mind lasted for weeks. Meanwhile, reports came in from all quarters; our friends imparted their own judgment and that of others upon Sand's action. Many of these bore the same character of disapprobation and aversion as my own; others, on the contrary, eulogized the sentiments of the murderer, envied his pre-eminence, and dwelt upon the necessity of an action calculated to spread

terror amongst the enemies of freedom. Soon afterwards occurred Löhning's unsuccessful attempt to murder the president Ibell, the Jewish riot, &c.

" 'The Fresh Voices of Free Youth,' by the Brothers Follenius, diligently and universally circulated, contributed much by their partly mystic, partly patriotico-political, partly sentimental-elegiac, and always richly-poetic style, to excite and strengthen such passions.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Numbers of persons of every rank, age, and sex, took Sand's deed under their protection. We saw tears shed by beautiful eyes over the unhappy youth; flowers planted by princesses on his grave. We heard men even of advanced age enthusiastically harangue in his praise. 'A Letter of Consolation,' by de Wette, who had already, in his pamphlet entitled 'The Sin against the Holy Ghost,' treated us to some apocalyptic phrases, which we interpreted in the spirit of the day, removed many scruples, and thus was the theory of the lawfulness of murder in certain cases, when necessary for the good of our country or to avenge virtue, deeply studied by persons who had never, or very differently, thought of it. For myself, it cost me much trouble ere I gained the due temper; but there was a something narcotic in this tale of Sand, heightened by the eternal singing of liberty songs, that none of us could permanently resist. \* \* \* \* We played with sanguinary phrases, because we saw that they gained listeners; and the apologies for Sand, with which we coqueted, filled our souls with joy, from the terror they excited amongst the Philistines. Thus did I, like many others, disown my innate humanity, merely to enjoy the sight of this or that respectable man leaving the table, horror-stricken at the levity of our language and the carelessness of our looks, while discussing such a subject; or we exaggerated our praises of Sand solely to enhance the anger, the horror, of the *anti-Germanismers*. Under this aspect must much of what was then and subsequently done and written by young men be considered. Had Sand been sent to a mad-house as a maniac, and our proceedings been treated as the extravagances and puerilities of school-boys, we should have been morally slain, much gold and time would have been saved, and the German nation been spared the disgrace of being laid under a general political interdict on account of such follies. But the course adopted justified us in considering ourselves as the heroes of the day."

Many of these boy-Brutuses, in whose inflamed fancies a second-rate dramatist loomed a Cæsar or a Napoleon, were thrown into prison, and variously, although not severely punished. But we must add to the tale of boyish absurdities a few words of their yet more absurd sister-patriots.

" That women took part in our exertions is already known from the report of the judicial proceedings. One of these lady patriots was the mistress of a school for young girls, who often so tormented Pfistern, that he would, with emphatic politeness, threaten to teach the German 'Maid of Orleans' respect for the constituted authorities. The other was a beautiful, a lovely, woman, the grand-daughter of an eminent deceased statesman,

married to a nobleman of high family. But the union had not been made in heaven, and her domestic life was so disturbed and strange, that it would have afforded many a novel in the Hoffman style. Her youthful imagination had been too early emancipated, and, at an age when the rod might have been used to good purpose, she reigned despotically over her parents, over all who came near her. The ways of her castle much resembled those ascribed to the middle ages. To all this was now super-added the whim of Germanizing. Days were passed in fashioning costumes, and a regular court was arranged, at which German youths kissed hands, whilst song and chiming of bells, racket and uproar, overpowered the sound of duns. The fair dame, one of the most delicately formed and captivating creatures I ever beheld, and whom the dress became to admiration, actually and gravely bestowed the honours of knighthood upon one of my friends, an honest Swabian ; and he still wore her colours, when, in the year 1822, he was impaled by the Turks at Pera, after having had his hands cut off. So fearfully did tragedy and comedy intermingle. I myself for years carried on a sentimental correspondence with her, in which we reciprocally complimented each other upon our patriotism, our liberality, and our superiority. But a dark lot fell upon her latter days. Her romance ended sadly, fearfully. \* \* \* The other *patriotess* subsequently atoned for the errors of her imagination by the faithful discharge of all the duties of a wife and mother."

These extracts may suffice to show that our autobiographer's condemnation of the Belgians and praises of their rejected king are not the result of early prejudice, and should, therefore, be received as the fruit of ripened judgment and experience. But, having the volume open before us, we will, ere closing it, extract the account of the writer's introduction to almost the only two living literary celebrities hitherto mentioned by him ; of these, the one is in the autumn, the other in the spring or early summer, of his fame ; they are Görres, and Wolfgang Menzel. Münch was, at this time, it should be stated, Professor at Aarau, but Professor at a school, we believe, rather than at a university.

" As I was one day hastening to the Canton-school, a large packet of corrected and uncorrected tasks in my hand, I heard the voice of my friend St. calling upon me to stop and look round. To my astonishment, I beheld a whole train of male and female figures in the old German costume. First walked a maiden of middle height, slenderly and elegantly made, with a face upon which health was distinctly legible, whilst the loveliest white contended with the brightest red. Her simple black dress, tastefully puffed, and laid in a few plain folds ; her corset, adorned with a pretty cross ; her chesnut hair, partly hanging low in two gracefully braided tresses, partly wound round her head under a net, after the fashion of the Bernese Oberland girls ; the appropriate leathern pocket, with its silver points and chains, hanging from her girdle ; all, in short, deliciously became the thoughtfully-sweet girl,

who reminded me of a print of the Virgin that I had recently purchased. Steadily she led the way. Next came a younger sister, of twelve or fourteen, with full, broad, cherry cheeks, running unsteadily, treading down her shoes, ungraceful in her movements, evidently prompt to do battle with the first saucy boy she should meet, jesting incessantly, and laughing immoderately. Then followed a man of staid years, in a worn, old-German coat, carelessly buttoned, through which peeped a crumpled, snuff-stained frill, with hair rather red than yellow, that, in the full enjoyment of dithyrambic freedom, stood or lay in all directions, giving his arm to a very plainly but nicely dressed lady, of strong make and full health, with the remains of former beauty ; the whole offering a vivid picture of the old-German patriarchal life. We made acquaintance immediately, and very soon became intimate, as I almost daily accompanied my friend to visit the family. Hardly could any other man have made so deep an impression upon me as did Görres, much as we differed upon many points in mode of apprehension, in order of ideas, in views and principles, in life and manners. The name of Görres was then one of the most celebrated, and he came to Aarau with the double crown of his early acknowledged scientific and patriotic merits, and of his recent political martyrdom. His 'Germany and the Revolution' had appeared not long before, and flashed like lightning through the clouds that darkened the political horizon. The most opposite emotions were called forth by this work, and, by the singular hieroglyphics veiling an open secret, the vital question of the times was brought under discussion. Görres had, with the skill of a philosophic physician, apprehended, described, and marked the malady of the times ; had evoked the spirits in, and out of, the abyss, and, with Jean-Paulish fancy, united to the inspiration of the jest of olden days, had unveiled the story of the nation's heart \* \* \* \* His heart, which had for years embraced all Germany, throbbed with especial warmth for his beloved Rhenish provinces. Their traditions, tales, and lays, were ever present to his fancy, as fountains of living waters above which the eagles of olden times soared, the birds of paradise sang, the feats of legendary heroes, the love-ditties of an Ofterdingen, an Eschilbach, resounded. And this classic land he now beheld subjected to Prussia ; a thought that infuriated him, whenever that *bureaucratic* government, which he had caricatured with such virulent irony, recurred to his imagination. When we read his unjust attacks upon Prince Hardenberg, should we most pity the statesman thus unmercifully assailed, or the censor who could be insensible to the extraordinary forbearance and kindness which the deceased Prince-Chancellor opposed to the stormy passions of the wrathful patriot. Hardenberg's letters to Görres and his wife, during their voluntary exile, breathe this spirit ; showing him ever ready for a reconciliation, and the way home ever open to Görres, so he would satisfy the violated laws.

" The witticisms of the fugitive upon fashionable liberalism might be termed classical. Often would he exclaim, with indescribable expression and accent, ' The devil also is a liberal.'

\* \* \* \* \*

" It was upon another fine summer's day that, going to invite my friend

Steingass to a walk, I saw an unknown figure seated at his study table. This was a powerful young man, of slender form, and swarthy complexion, with a pair of keenly penetrating eyes; his stiff, long, black hair, divided on the forehead and cut after the fashion of the Black Forest; his beard long, according to *Turner*<sup>\*</sup>-custom, and clad in the very shortest, black, old-German coat I had ever seen. Long did the young man sit before me, uttering only the most indispensable answers, and absorbed in the map of Switzerland. Presently my friend appeared and presented me to Herr Wolfgang Menzel, of Waldenburg, near Breslau, formerly *Vorturner*<sup>\*</sup> at Jena, then *Bursch* at Bonn, who had esteemed it wise to withdraw himself from the inquisition of Berlin society into the patriotic criticism of the old-Germanizers, and seek personal safety in that classic land of 'liberty,' Switzerland.

"I now learned much of the sacred legend of Menzel's early achievements; of his feuds with the Breslau Menzel, christened Karl Adolf, with whom he is not unfrequently confounded, whilst he disowns all kindred with him; of his dissensions with his parents, who opposed his learned career; of the hard fate of his youth, whence the harshness of his manly mind; of his audacious attacks upon Göthe's lofty aristocratic supremacy at Weimar, &c. I soon discovered that Menzel was, indeed, an overbearing companion, with whom it was not every one that could live; but richly endowed with intellect, and of a very decided character; in short, that he really was of the wood, out of which, if they themselves mar it not, illustrious men are carved."

We now turn to the Biographico-Historical Studies, amongst which, as we have said, the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh is most like a finished production. But our object, in our abstracts and extracts, being both to exhibit novelty of style in composition as well as in thought and language, and to afford the reader as much new, or at least unfamiliar, information as may be, we prefer making our selection from the foreign fragments. We shall, therefore, dismiss our renowned countryman, with the single remark, that Münch, notwithstanding his abundant references to English authors, does not appear to be a more thorough Englishman than other German writers whom we have heretofore reviewed. In addition to such mis-spelling as "British *Worthirs*," *Bitz Morris*, for Fitzmorris, *Townskend*, for Townshend, and the like, we find the often-noticed blunder of attaching the title "Sir," to the surname, and writing indiscriminately, Sir Walter, or Sir Raleigh.

In turning over the pages of these two volumes, the studies which most attract us are, "King Christiern II., the Amsterdam Dove and Mother Sigbrit," (in which preference, we beg to say, we are actuated by no gossiping love of scandal, but by the sin-

\* These words, *Turner* and *Vorturner*, were adopted when, on the conclusion of the war, an attempt was made to revive the old-German sports and gymnastic exercises, as well as costume, and are derived from the *tourney* or *tournament*.

gularity of the influence acquired by a hideous old woman over the Danish tyrant,) and the comparison between the elder and the now living Belgians, with a sketch of William I.'s early life. We begin with the former.

As some little apology for Christiern's many offences, we are told that his royal father committed his education to low persons, who, remote from the court and his own eye, flattered the young prince's faults into vices, encouraging his disposition to every kind of gross excess as well as to violence and cruelty; whilst his appointed instructors managed to disgust him with learning. Thus fitted for the ruler's task, Prince Christiern was appointed Viceroy of Norway, with the assistance of an ecclesiastical chancellor, Archbishop Erik Valkendorf, an able administrator, but an ambitious man, who courted his future sovereign by unworthy acts of complaisance. Under such circumstances, it is more remarkable that the young viceroy should have quelled insurrections both in Sweden and in Norway, than that he should have engaged in an illicit amour. But the origin of this attachment is worth recording. The archiepiscopal chancellor had repaired to Bergen, to appease some tumults excited by the imposition of new taxes. Here, as Münch tells us, he walked through the market-place, glancing inquiringly at the crowd:

' When he was astonished by the sight of a woman of extraordinary stature and corpulence, who, as her baskets showed, dealt in fruits, sugar-plums, and other dainties. Her cheeks, strangely distended, and deep-dyed with such a red as he had never before seen on woman's face, hung down nearly to her bosom. Her eyes flashed a dark, almost unnatural fire, and a savage scorn played about her strongly-curved lips. \* \* \* Beside this giantess stood a maiden of such gracious loveliness as must have disarmed the severest eye.

But, as the daughter's beauty is a less original part of our story than the mother's ugliness, we omit its description and pass on to the hag's answer to the chancellor's inquiry as to what and whence they were.

" The giantess replied, ' We are natives of Amsterdam in Holland, my dread lord: my name is Sigbrit Wylms, my daughter Düveke. We are indigent, but of good repute, and earn our livelihood honestly. Many a lordly earl and knight, many a lewd priest and monk, has gazed wistfully at this tender blossom of mine; but I have managed, by strict discipline and constant vigilance, to guard it from wild brambles, and venomous worms. \* \* \* I have been warned in a dream that a lot, far different from that of her station, awaits my child. But even if she is not to be a queen, she is already, look at her yourself, dread lord, a queen amongst her equals. Near her envy is silenced, and pays her a reluctant homage. Her girlish playfellows, all who know her, call her the Dove.'

The Chancellor was so impressed by the beauty of the daughter, and perhaps by the strange language of the mother, that upon rejoining the prince at Opslo, he hastened to report his discovery of so much loveliness and purity in a low-born foreigner. Christiern, fired by the description, betook himself without loss of time to Bergen, where, in order to judge for himself without being in any way committed, he gave an entertainment to the citizens, to which he desired that Sigbrit and her daughter should be invited. He found Düveke's charms fully adequate to the archbishop's panegyric, and forthwith opened and concluded a criminal negociation with her mercenary parent.

Düveke presently acquired and long retained unbounded power over her lover's heart; whilst her mother, frightful as she has been depicted, acquired and retained similar power over his mind. We are told that

" Sigbrit possessed a singularly keen understanding, uncommon knowledge of human passions, and an immoderate propensity to intrigue, with a cruel, crafty, and revengeful sense of injuries."

She rendered all these qualities of such avail in her intercourse with Christiern, that she became his chief adviser in the concerns of his viceroyalty. And when, in 1510, he was summoned to Copenhagen by the increasing illness of King John, he directed her secretly to follow him with her daughter. The connexion did not, however, long remain a secret.

In 1514, Christiern ascended the throne, and the states of the kingdom pressed him to marry. To this he made no objection, provided he could obtain the hand of the Princess Isabel of Spain, who, to great beauty, talent and piety, added an ample portion. Christiern's unlawful amour was urged as a cause of refusal by Isabel's guardians; it was at once, in appearance, broken off, and the marriage solemnized. But the young queen could no more weaken Düveke's hold upon Christiern's heart by her personal charms, than by her mental endowments she could break the shackles in which Sigbrit had enthralled his mind; and in a very few weeks after her marriage, the mother and daughter resumed their former station, even more openly than before. The decisions of the council, and even those of the states of the kingdom, were submitted to the old Dutchwoman's approbation, and the prosperity of the nation depended entirely upon her caprices.

Uncomplainingly as the newly wedded queen seems to have submitted to neglect, such a state of affairs soon became intolerable to the Danish nation, and especially to the grandees, who held themselves to be the proper advisers of their sovereign. But

those who were most indignant, at least whose indignation carried them the greatest length, appear, naturally enough, to have mistaken the source of the influence which they reprobated. They imagined that were there no beautiful daughter, there could be no power to harm or thwart them in a repulsive old crone. Düveke suddenly sickened and died; and, frequent as are the groundless accusations of poisoning in the history of past times, the charge cannot, we fear, upon the occasion in question, be thus easily disposed of. But the crime proved as unavailing as it was atrocious.

“ The heart of the king seemed to have died with his mistress. The wild passions which had hitherto been curbed by one yet more potent, love, now ruled him with unmitigated, arbitrary sway. Hatred, suspicion, cruelty, and contempt for mankind, were now denizens of the royal bosom, and the main object for which the death of Düveke, or Columbula, as the Latin author calls her, had been wrought or desired, the destruction of Sigbrit's influence, was not attained; on the contrary, she seemed to have inherited, as a legacy, the two-fold regard of the king; and revenge for the annihilation of his love-paradise, and a passionate longing to inflict retribution for wrongs endured, governed the conduct of the bereaved lover and mother.”

That the revenge taken by Christiern upon the supposed or convicted murderers of his paramour was fearful, will readily be conceived by all who are acquainted with the cruelties he perpetrated or commanded in Sweden. We omit the painful and superfluous detail, to end our account of this study with an extract or two on the point for which we selected it; to wit, the increased and increasing influence of Mother Sigbrit, when destitute of any stay beyond her own talents and address; or, in the opinion of the vulgar, high and low, of the black art.

“ Sigbrit's former influence daily increased, such power has habit; such witchery did she exercise over many minds, that Queen Isabel herself lived upon friendly terms with her, and the proudest nobles no longer blushed to attain their objects through her mediation.

“ Upon occasion of the queen's confinements, Sigbrit undertook the offices of midwife and nurse; she even waited upon the royal children, and carried them from place to place with a tenderness that could hardly spring from the heart, but which established her in Isabel's favour. At times, however, her diabolic nature overpowered the dissimulation with which she affected such feelings. Thus, upon the birth of a third son, she spitefully exclaimed, 'Why so many princes! Where shall we find kingdoms for them all! Get ye gone! To the devil with the princes!'”

“ Yet did Sigbrit display the utmost zeal in educating and forming Christiern's youthful heir, his only surviving son. She frequently visited the boy in the Castle of Copenhagen, even against the will of his

parents, or took him home with her, to give him lessons in the science of government ; which surprise us the more from the difficulty of conceiving how the old Amsterdam fruit-hawker, or alewife, could have acquired such knowledge as she imparted.

\* \* \* \*

“ But the magic by which Sigbrit ruled the king's spirit consisted chiefly in the readiness with which she entered into his ruling passion, his desire to strengthen the monarchical element in the constitution, intolerably narrowed by the popular representative principle, and to break the arrogance of the privileged classes, the nobility and the priesthood ; or, according to the better opinion, the skill with which she instilled those ideas into his mind, encouraging him to carry them into effect, by reference to the success of several of his co-sovereigns, as Lewis XI., Charles V., and Henry VIII. \* \* \* Her friends and spies had vividly depicted to her the injustice, the arbitrary cruelties, often perpetrated by the great landed proprietors, lay and clerical ; and she herself had been a sufferer by them of old. Hence her passionate hatred for the nobility, which she found little difficulty in grafting upon the king's jealousy of his own authority. She had in pay numerous spies, selected from the populace, who daily supplied her with news. These tales, tricked out according to her own views, highly seasoned and exaggerated, she repeated to Christiern, who beheld most objects through spectacles, the glasses of which she fashioned. The highest officers of state attended upon her, and waited for hours together at her door, often in storm and tempest, whilst she was chatting with the meanest men upon common-place matters. Happy were the ministers, if her door at length unclosed, and a gracious look rewarded their patience.

“ One topic, frequently discussed when the king visited her in her own house, was the trade with the Hanse towns. These last were, as may well be imagined, not upon the best footing with the Netherlanders, and Sigbrit, cherishing a patriotic spirit of revenge against them, encouraged Christiern in his purpose of repressing, as much as possible, their trade with his three kingdoms, and regulating all his internal commercial relations according to the plan adopted in the Netherlands.

“ To her may be ascribed the expedition equipped to explore the Frozen Ocean for islands, and a passage to the East Indies ; as also the prohibition to Hanseatic and other German vessels to fish, as before, in the Danish seas, &c. She induced the king to bestow many important rights and commercial privileges upon the Danish towns, to protect the third estate against the pretensions of the great, to convert the ecclesiastical prebends into foundations for the sick poor. Finally, she secured all practicable advantages to Dutch sailors in the northern realms.

\* \* \* \*

“ All Christiern's relations and treaties with foreign states were governed by sound policy, and, like some of his internal regulations, show Mother Sigbrit's influence not disadvantageous to Denmark. But she disgraced her merits by shameful rapacity, usury, private speculations carried on with the public funds, and by her vindictive persecution of individuals and corporations opposed to her.

\* \* \* \*

" The Swedish tragedy was mainly owing to the violent councils of Sigbrit. The unscrupulous Schlaghök was sent thither upon her recommendation. The extermination of the Swedish nobility was one of the thoughts that by day and by night occupied her soul. \* \* \* The privileged orders were gradually driven to resistance by desperation, and an imprudent expression of Sigbrit's, ' that the Danish nobility must be tried collectively for high treason,' proved the signal for revolt. The insurgents chose Frederic, Duke of Holstein-Schleswig, for the King of Denmark, and, arming against Christiern, triumphed. In 1523 the King was obliged to fly from Copenhagen, and, before he attended to his own safety, he took means to insure Sigbrit's. The infuriated populace would have torn her to pieces, and she was therefore conveyed on ship-board in a cask. She is said to have consoled the King of Denmark under his reverses, by promising to procure for him the more exalted post of Burgomaster of Amsterdam. From this moment she disappears from the stage, and must probably have died upon the voyage, or soon after landing in her native country, Holland, where the dethroned monarch resided for some time."

Proceed we now to Münch's Belgian views, entreating the reader, whilst he peruses the following extracts, to bear in mind the author's original democratic bias.

" The Belgians, like the Dutch, have passed through a series of historical changes without having ever constituted a nation. \* \* \* Until the Burgundian era, we find only unconnected duchies, counties, lordships, towns, with innumerable rights and privileges, pretensions, and claims, advanced and enforced now amongst themselves and against each other, now by subjects and vassals against their lords, now by lords and vassals against the Emperor and the imperial federation, to which they all belonged. Until the close of the 15th century, we nowhere find the collective idea of a Belgian people expressed; the idea of a Belgian nation does not exist. This was equally the case in the northern provinces; but there, earlier than in Belgium, arose the feeling that they ought to constitute a brotherly federation against foreigners; and the glorious recollections of Batavian wars and enterprises early produced a sort of nationality. Writers of all ages agree in painting the Belgians as the most restless, unruly, tumult-loving mortals in existence; and it is observable that they have always treated their best rulers the worst, whilst the bad overawed them. In no other history do we find so early and so unbounded a degree of individual liberty, and in none so immoderate, so untameable a misuse of liberty; so that the annals of the Flemish and Walloon times may exemplify how little the sway of well-understood freedom, legal order, and a steady state of cultivation can be promoted by the triumph of pure democracy."

Of the Netherlanders, at the close of the Burgundian era, Münch thus speaks:—

" They confirmed by oath, and then broke, one compact after another, always complaining of encroachments upon their liberties. The funda-

mental idea, bias, and temperament of the Belgians of that day are embodied in the arrogant Philip of Cleves, the especial favourite of the democracy, but whose precise object in his eager exertions was never ascertained. Thus did the country forfeit its peace and quiet, with the enjoyment of its freedom ; and, as a consequence of this degenerate system, the most flourishing towns in Europe, which then were still marts for the whole world's trade, sank deeper and deeper into moral abominations and disorders, into financial embarrassments and debts, and at last into complete insignificance and actual poverty. If we would conscientiously understand the condition of those times, we must not read the partial French memoirs, which always represent the Flemings as runaway subjects, and every evil as a consequence of the Burgundo-Austrian sovereignty ; but study and compare their own printed and MS. country chronicles, their charters and other official documents, and we shall be forcibly struck with the arrogance of a people, who neither could nor would be content with such rulers, with such unbounded liberties, with so happy and prosperous a condition.

“ As, after the re-establishment of Netherland independence under the Orange dynasty, King William I. was represented to the people as a hypocrite, and an oppressor alike of Belgian freedom and the Catholic faith, so in the 16th century was William the Taciturn industriously and similarly calumniated. That great man, who first breathed into the nobility the idea and the spirit of loyal resistance to a foreign yoke, whose example incited to the first and weightiest enterprises, whose advice had proved the only sure guide in moments of danger, was represented as a pupil of Machiavel's, whose sole object was to bring the nation, now delivered from Spanish thraldom, under a more disgraceful tyranny. The verbose declamatory harangues of Messrs. Vilain XIV., Rodenbach, and Co. in our days, may be read in many a Flemish, Brabant, and Hainault pamphlet of the 16th century.

“ In a Ghent pamphlet, we read : ‘ Never were the much-to-be-pitied Netherlanders so barbarously treated (not even by the Spaniards) as now, by their own countrymen. To say nothing of the daily enormous contributions exacted, without a hope of kindlier prospects, we are more shamelessly misused by our own soldiers than formerly by the enemy. \* \* \* The Prince of Orange and his creatures are always decrying Machiavel, whilst those same creatures are labouring to form their hero, the most unparalleled atheist, into another Machiavel, and to force his sovereignty upon us. He rules this country as an absolute despot, without any right to do so, and perpetuates the war solely to plunder us, and enrich his German satellites with the booty. \* \* \* Innovations, unheard of in this country, are attempted. The new-fangled judges exercise an authority in our city such as the Eighteen never possessed. \* \* \* Observe but the increase of the public taxes, and of the excise, effected by those who suck our life-blood like vampires.’ \* \* \* The favouritism of the Prince of Orange towards his own kindred and partizans is painted in strong colours ; he is said to

have smuggled into every office noblemen who must otherwise have starved. 'Have we,' the pamphleteer proceeds, 'in Flanders and the other provinces, any lack of nobles to lead our armies? Yet he incessantly calls in strangers, modelled after himself. He promotes and exalts the lowest people, merely to consummate our ruin and reduce us to slavery. Out of our purses he aggrandizes himself, and supports his frightfully profuse expenditure.'"

This vituperation of the Protestant hero, William the Taciturn, is certainly curious, but these samples of it may suffice; and we turn to Münch's remarks upon the modern Belgian complaints and discontents which led to the severance of the northern and southern portions of the kingdom of the Netherlands. He says,—

"The priests themselves, after their fourteen years' fierce battle against the new order of things and the altered aspect of the times, suddenly changed their colours and watchword in concert with the aristocracy, set up the banner of liberalism, and successfully laboured to introduce divisions into the liberal camp: by false representations, by taking advantage of a certain sensitiveness touching disappointed expectations, and by the adroit exaggeration of real grievances, they alienated some friends of political liberty from the government, attaching them to their own party. Another fraction of liberals, partly formed in the Buonaparte school, partly still inspired by the fame of the revolution, partly actuated by antipathy to Holland, and seduced and impelled by the witchery of the French language, literature, and manners, fixed their eyes yearningly upon the country with which, during a score of years, they had shared the common destinies of stormy times.

"The mother tongue of the Flemish-Walloon provinces was systematically excluded from the churches, lecture-rooms, tribunals, and drawing-rooms, by the nobles and priests, who well knew the power of such an intellectual bond of union; and now the question arose, which of the two languages could be deemed the vernacular."

But the grounds of the separation, the rights and the wrongs of the Belgians, are not questions that ought to be treated superficially, and in merely reviewing Ernst Münch's present volumes no subject can well be treated otherwise. We will therefore proceed to his sketches of William I.'s youth, and of his conduct during his years of adversity, which is, we apprehend, but little known in this country.

William I., his father's second son, was born at the Hague, A.D. 1772. His education was carefully conducted and superintended by Euler of Deuxponts, Tollens of Breda, and Lieut.-Gen. van Stamford; and, when of sufficient age, he was sent to divers German high-schools and universities. He acquired an extensive and solid acquaintance with history and jurisprudence, together with considerable knowledge of mankind, and great pru-

dence and reserve. He was yet more remarkable for a purity of morals and manners, but too unusual in those whose high station lays them open to so much temptation. In 1791 he married, as much from mutual attachment as from political motives, his cousin, the Princess Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina of Prussia. Upon the breaking out of the war with France, both he and his elder brother took an active part in the military operations. Those unsuccessful operations have been so completely superseded in interest by wars yet more disastrous or more brilliant, that it were idle to follow even our author's brief detail of them. It may suffice to say, that the young princes distinguished themselves by courage, coolness, perseverance, and prudence. When the cause of their country became desperate, they embarked with the Stadtholder and the rest of their family for England.

But the young princes did not long remain dependents upon foreign hospitality. They presently returned to the Continent, collected all the Dutch emigrants who were willing to follow their fortunes; and with the band thus raised and organized joined the Prussian standard, under which they fought gallantly, until Prussia concluded the treaty of Basle with the French republic. The little Dutch corps was then taken into the service of Great Britain.

The hereditary prince entered that of Austria, and, in the year 1799, died of a malady caught during an inspection of the military hospitals. The younger brother repaired to Berlin, to the court of his uncle and father-in-law, where he endeavoured to procure by diplomacy some compensation, at least, for the dominions which his father had lost by the fortune of war. He so far succeeded that Prussian mediation obtained the promise of the future incorporation of the secularized bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg with the German patrimony of the House of Nassau.

The prince, now the heir, applied himself to the government and improvement of that German patrimony, whilst he strove further to ameliorate the condition of his family by agricultural operations, for which he had always shown a decided taste. These he now undertook upon a large scale, purchasing the extensive estates of the Polish Magnat Jablonowski, situated near Posen; and he there put in practice the principles of economy that he had derived from the study of Adam Smith and other political philosophers.

" His active spirit delighted in the thought of a creation according to his own ideas. He introduced a number of improvements into the villages of his Polish lordships, established several colonies, and studied to make the most of all extant resources. He devoted considerable sums of money to the rendering their new homes agreeable to his colonists, a

matter of no small difficulty. The colonists, who were mostly Germans, showed great repugnance to mingle with the natives, the civilized man naturally shrinking from the barbarian. His schemes required, nevertheless, that this should be accomplished. The ignorance of the rude, bigoted Pole was to be tempered by German cultivation, in order to diffuse civilization through the district. The prince began with that which most ennobles the heart of man, elevating his spirit to nobler objects. He bestowed freedom upon the bondsmen, or villains, whom he had purchased; and freedom bore fruit a thousand-fold, reaped both by philanthropy and self-interest. If the former enjoyed the thought of a duty towards humanity discharged, the latter was gratified by the sight of improving agricultural industry, and increasing prosperity. Barbarism was gradually expelled from this district of Poland, and what had been half a desert was converted into habitable fields.

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"Whilst Prince William laboured thus zealously in training strangers, he did not neglect the education of his two sons. He selected their preceptor, he watched over the first tasks of their youth, and discovered in everything the noblest care for their future weal, such care as only the tenderest private individuals extend over their families.

"The prince at the same time endeavoured to collect, preserve, and increase whatever works of art or of literature still existed in the country, especially whatever related to national history, antiquities, and laws. The Dillingen library, principally enriched by him, bespeaks the taste and the progress in cultivation and learning of the owner. No new inquiry or discovery was unknown to him; and his correspondence with the most distinguished German, Dutch, and foreign literati, as well as the numerous dedications addressed to him, at a time when such compliments could not originate in flattery, but must have sprung solely from personal esteem, from a sense of his merits, bear witness to the intellectual life, the moral worth, of the hereditary Prince of Orange and Nassau."

When the treaty of Luneville was regulating the compensations to be allotted to the several despoiled German sovereigns, the hereditary Prince of Orange repaired to Paris, as Count of Dietz, to endeavour to secure the promised bishoprics. This, amongst the number of more powerful claimants, proved impossible; but he was treated with much personal consideration by the First Consul; and in the end obtained about seven secularized abbeys, including the abbey principality of Fulda, with one free imperial city. The old Stadtholder, who shrank from occupying the dominions of the church as from sacrilege, at once resigned these new acquisitions to his son, and Prince William thenceforth fixed his residence at Fulda.

In these secularized abbey domains he had to contend with many of the difficulties that he afterwards encountered in Belgium, to wit, the detestation entertained by the bigoted Catholic inhabitants for the heretical usurper of the rights of the

church ; that usurper being, moreover, a foreigner, unknown to them, and to whom they had been assigned, without their own consent, by another foreigner ; the necessity of laying on taxes in order to raise an income, sufficient to pension the dispossessed priests, in addition to the ordinary expenses of government ; an obstinate and slothful hatred of innovation, and the like.

" Little as the future promised of enjoyment, William of Orange was not disheartened. He possessed the persevering, healthful temper of the best of his race ; misfortune had taught him their moderation and frugality ; the convulsions that had shaken the world had given him steadiness of resolution ; study and self-examination a knowledge of men, with their passions and their wants. The very difficulties of his situation afforded him a sort of enjoyment, in the consciousness that the energy of his own spirit would enable him to conquer them.

" He began the improvements that he deemed essential to the country, at home. In his house the utmost simplicity prevailed ; and he would have carried his retrenchments yet further, had not his inclinations been checked by considerations of justice and expediency. \* \* \* He was, perhaps, the first sovereign prince in Germany who did not copy the forms of great courts in a small one, without regard to extent of domains, or the financial resources of subjects, thus incurring ridicule by a complicated and cumbrous system of administration, and an artificially arranged hierarchy of servants. A single private secretary, and a privy council consisting of a very few persons, afforded all the aid William required. He was everywhere personally present, and personally active. All letters, despatches, regulations, petitions, passed through his hands, and never was anything unread signed by him or published in his name, a practice to which he adhered upon the throne of the Netherlands. Affairs of weight were discussed in especial conversations in all their details, and under every aspect, with the heads of the departments to which they belonged, and this not in council, but at his leisure hours. \* \* \* He could the more easily act up to these principles, as he devoted all his time to the business of a sovereign \* \* \* \* He found his enjoyment in his work, and disturbance only in passions. \* \* \* \* To be manfully opposed by a single individual when the rest of his council agreed with himself, rather grieved than angered him. He laboured earnestly to convince his opponent, and if obstinate pertinacity at length irritated him, he regretted his warmth and injustice before the day expired, and strove to atone for them by expressions of kindness.

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" William, who was usually the first person up in his palace, would often, when pressed by affairs of importance, surprise his private secretary in bed. Too impatient to wait for the sluggard's dressing, he then seated himself upon the bed, and conversed upon the subject that had brought him thither, until he had satisfied his own mind respecting it."

One of this prince's chief objects at the time of which we are

speaking, was the enlightening his ignorant new subjects, whom their ecclesiastical masters had studiously kept in a state of tranquil darkness, by an improved system of education. He invited able teachers, and professors of reputation, from divers German universities, at the same time carefully avoiding, as far as was possible, to shock the prejudices of those whom, or whose children, he sought to raise in the social scale.

But we are exceeding the limits that we had allotted to Ernst Münch, and must hasten to conclude. A few weeks after the death of the exiled Stadholder had added the actual sovereignty, instead of the regency, of the hereditary domains of the House of Nassau, to its recent compensatory acquisitions, the institution of the Confederation of the Rhine, with the various changes thereby induced, robbed the Prince of Orange of all his dominions, old and new. He was, indeed, again offered compensations; but the arbitrary severing of old ties and the virtual subjection to France, revolted alike his pride, his feelings, his principles, and his patriotism. If he could not even attempt to resist his forcible spoliation, he refused to concur in it, by the acceptance of compensations, declaring, that the name of Orange must descend to posterity unspotted! He retired to Prussia, accepted a command in his brother-in-law's army, fought at Jena, and was afterwards taken prisoner. When the peace of Tilsit again put an end to his military career, he fixed his residence at Berlin as a private man, and gave his time and thoughts wholly up to the education of his children, study, and the management of his Polish estates, then his sole means of independent existence.

It is needless to remind the reader that in 1813 the old cry of *Oranien boven!* (Orange for ever!) was again raised in Holland, and the prince was recalled to his native land by the almost unanimous voice of the people. But it is gratifying to be able to add, that, in spite of the pains taken by the Catholic clergy to represent him as an heretical tyrant, whose oppressions had ruined the country, his former subjects, in the secularized abbey lands, solicited, almost as eagerly as the Dutch themselves, the restoration of his authority.

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ART. V.—*Khudozhestvenaya Gazeta, na 1837. Izdanannaya Nestorom Kukolnikom.* (The Gazette of the Fine Arts for 1837. Edited by Nestor Kukolnik.) St. Petersburgh, 1837. No. I. to X.

MANY, even of the readers of the Foreign Quarterly Review, will, perhaps, be astonished at learning that a journal exclusively devoted to the Fine Arts has been established in Russia; and that, moreover, with a tolerable prospect of success, as we know to our regret, every number of the first volume being entirely out of print some months ago; so that we have been able to procure only those from the commencement of the present year. This forms rather a contrast to matters here at home, where every attempt of a similar nature has hitherto proved a signal failure; in some instances not undeservedly so, neither industry, nor literary exertion, nor talent, having been manifested on the part of publishers or editors; while in others, after the work had struggled on for sufficient time to give it a fair trial with the public, it has fallen to the ground for want of encouragement, and the attempt has been abandoned as hopeless and impracticable. With so many ominous examples before us, it is not likely that, in this country, we shall venture upon any similar experiment again in a hurry; indeed the very latest periodical of the kind was conducted in such a manner as to throw discredit on the scheme itself, since it betrayed, to a degree absolutely ludicrous, the strange notions entertained by those who had the management of the work, and what odd sort of fare they, as caterers for the public taste, considered it advisable to set before their readers,—a salmagundi of the most ill-assorted ingredients,—notices of children's books, meteorological journals, heavy topographical lumber, scraps of namby-pamby rhyming, together with such light reading, as papers on joint-stock banking, and imprisonment for debt,—the last-mentioned, no doubt, for the edification of that class who are rather the victims than the votaries of art. We do not mean to deny that very clever papers, really valuable contributions, are to be met with in some English publications of this class, but they are overlaid and buried under a mass of superficial scribbling,—puerile, schoolboy “essays,” the substance of which has been, in schoolboy phrase, “cribbed” from the most ordinary sources.

Abroad they manage such things very differently—we need not add, very much better; in Germany especially, where such publications as Schorn's *Kunstblatt*, the *Berliner Kunstblatt*, and a variety of others, have successfully maintained their ground, and furnish not only a constant supply of fresh information, but a

great deal of profound and instructive criticism ;—to say nothing of the important disquisitions and other papers on topics of art that appear in journals of a more miscellaneous character,—the compositions of a Böttiger, and other master-pens. Germans may be said to excel in criticism of this kind, and are, accordingly, apt to deal in it rather largely, not unfrequently bestowing more of it upon a single painting, or other work of art, than would among ourselves be considered requisite for an entire collection or exhibition of pictures. As for works of sculpture or architecture, they seem to be considered almost beneath the notice of our critics and periodicals ; and if their merits are discussed at all, it must be—as Tom Hood tells us he read his Bible—"under the rose." That there is a very wide difference in the importance attached to such matters by the Germans and by ourselves, scarcely admits of doubt, when we find that the English translation of Passavant's *Kunstreise* fell dead from the press, though it relates principally to this country, and to some of the choicest works of the old masters that we possess. But, instead of permitting ourselves to indulge in such remarks, we must come at once to the Russian *Gazeta*.

Phenomenon as it may be considered by some, this *Gazette* is not the very first publication of the kind that has appeared in Russia; for about ten or twelve years ago there was another work that came out under the title of *Jurnal Izyashtshnik Iskustv*, or *Journal of the Fine Arts*; to which, however, it did not answer very exactly, it being rather a collection of papers, some original, but many only translations from books in other languages; besides which, it did not confine itself to the arts of design, to which the term "Fine Arts" is restricted in this country, but included poetry likewise. It did not proceed beyond its second volume,—which is the only one we have been able to meet with; and although it does not contain more than two or three articles which give any information relative to Russian artists and their works, there are papers of considerable length, and not less interest, particularly that on the exhibition at the Imperial Academy, and the one on the statues of Achilles and Hector, by Holberg and Krilov.

The plan of the *Gazeta*, on the contrary, conforms better with its title, and, if we may judge from the comparatively few numbers that have yet reached us, the work will at all events collect a mass of materials for the use of some future historian of the arts in Russia. Were it only on account of its biographical articles, it will prove a valuable auxiliary for such purpose; for at present very little information of the kind is to be derived from what has been written by Russians themselves ; and even that is so scanty and meagre as to serve no more than to tantalize curiosity. As yet,

very few Russian names, whether of artists or literary men, have found their way into the very latest biographical works published in other countries, and fewest of all into any that have appeared in our own. A rather extensive biographical work, by Dmetrii Bantiesh-Kamensky, which is confined entirely to the more celebrated natives of Russia, (with the exception of a few foreigners, who may be said to belong to that country,) has lately been published, in five large octavo volumes, at Moscow; yet even in this, by far the greater proportion of names are of those who have distinguished themselves either in the state, the army, the church, or some other public capacity. Of literary men the number is much smaller than we should have expected, several well-known names being altogether omitted;\* while of artists it is still smaller. That the latter should be the case did not very much surprise us; yet there are one or two omissions which strike us as rather remarkable;—for instance, those in respect to both Martos and the late Ivan Prokophiev,† who, with the exception of Martos himself, was the most eminent sculptor of his time that Russia had produced.

It is, therefore, all the more gratifying, to find that articles of biography will constitute a prominent feature in the *Gazeta*; and that they will not be merely of a necrological character, but retrospective likewise; and thus we may hope that, in time, all the artists of any note to whom Russia has given birth, or who may be considered as her children by adoption, will be duly recorded. Among those who have already been so are, Tischbein and Thomond, the architects of the great Theatre at St. Petersburg; and Voronikhin, the architect of the Kazan Church; while under the head of necrology,‡ an account has been given of Kiprensky,

\* This is the case even with Bogdanovitch and Khemnitser, names of high repute in their own country, and not altogether unknown even in this, the one as that of the author of *Dushenka*, the other as that of him who has been styled the Russian La Fontaine. Ozerov, the tragic poet, is also passed over, although a life of him, by Prince Viazemsky, is attached to one edition of his works. To say the truth, a very long list might be made of omissions, some of them almost as startling and unaccountable as the above;—for instance, Von Visin, celebrated as a comic writer; Podshivalov, Kheraskov, author of the *Rossiada*, and a great many others.

† It is all the more singular that no notice should have been taken of this artist, because there is a rather long memoir of him and his works in the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* for 1828. We there learn that Ivan Prokophievitch Prokophiev was born at St. Petersburg, January 25th, O.S. 1758, and that he studied under Gilet, a French artist, and then one of the professors in the Academy; after which he visited both Paris and Berlin. His productions, both statues and bas-reliefs, besides busts and models, are very numerous, and, although partaking more of the French school of that period than of the antique, charm by a certain gracefulness and air of nature. He died February 10th, 1828.

‡ There is also among the notices of this class, one of John Field, an eminent musician, a native of Dublin, who died at Moscow, January 14th, of the present year (1837).

who died in November last year, but as that article appeared in the volume for 1836, it has not been seen by us; all, therefore, that we can say respecting Kiprensky is that, besides being a very able portrait-painter,—in which branch of the art Varnik was the only one of his countrymen and contemporaries who could be said at all to rival him,—he possessed considerable talent for historical composition, of which he early gave proof in his "Battle of Khan Mamai," a production displaying great force of imagination, and considerable boldness in its execution.

Unless his powers be greatly exaggerated, it would appear from two articles respecting him in the *Gazeta*, that Pheodor Antonovitch Bruni promises to confer no inconsiderable renown on his country. One of them gives a long description of a very large picture executed by him, about a year and a half or two years ago, at Rome, and representing the Israelites attacked in the wilderness by the fiery serpents. This is spoken of as a performance replete, not only with talent, but with indubitable traits of genius: yet, although its merits may be in some degree overrated, it cannot have been in consequence of overweening national prejudice and partiality, because the commendation proceeds from the pen of an Italian critic, whose remarks on the picture are given by the Editor of the *Gazeta* in a Russian translation. As some of our readers may probably be desirous of learning how the artist has composed and treated the subject, we shall here extract some parts of the description:—

"The sky is overcast with dense clouds and filled with poisonous serpents of huge size, which dart down upon the Israelites, who, horror-stricken at this terrible prodigy, are seen running about in confusion, endeavouring to screen themselves from the attacks of their venomous foes. The murky atmosphere itself produces almost at the very first glance a strange and undefinable feeling, and forcibly impresses us with an awful sense of the dreadful vengeance which it pleased the Almighty in his wrath to inflict upon his ungrateful people, who rebelliously murmured against Moses, their divinely missioned leader, for having led them out of the pleasant and fertile Egypt into a land of desolation and barrenness. This is the principal subject; and all the episodes with which the artist has filled up his canvass, are poetically conceived and in perfect unison with the sentiment of the scene, since they all serve to heighten it, although by means of different modifications. Commencing from the right,—in the middle ground of the picture, a young female is seen flinging herself, in wild horror, into the arms of her lover, calling upon him to protect her; at the same time, turning around her head, she gazes with dismay on one of the Israelites,—a figure of athletic form and proportions, whose strength is vainly exerted against some of the serpents, which, having flung him down, are coiling themselves around his muscular but impotent limbs; while he, though the hand of death is already heavy upon

him, seems to be breathing forth vain imprecations of revenge.—This figure is one of those in the foreground; and the expression of savage ferocity, which the artist has impressed on the countenance, forcibly suggests the idea of the blaspheming Capaneo, as described by Dante in the 14th canto of the Inferno:—

‘ Gridd, quale fui vivo, tal son morto;’ &c.

One of the serpents which have obtained a mastery over his prodigious strength, is already eager for fresh prey, and preparing to dart upon another group close by that of the maiden and her lover. This group consists of three figures, of which the one nearest to the serpent is a young man seated on the ground, but who, perceiving his scaly assailant, is in the act of springing up in order to make his escape. The figure next to this is an old woman, who is also sitting on the ground; she holds a young child on her knees, and raises her face upwards, looking at the serpents descending through the air. Behind the female, belonging to the first described group, is seen one considerably younger—quite a girl, who is shrieking out with alarm, and endeavouring to shelter herself beneath her mother’s veil, imagining herself to be pursued by one of the serpents, instead of which her pursuer is her little brother, who is trying to overtake her. In this boy, the artist has expressed all the indications of extreme fear with most astonishing truth; he stops short, as if suddenly petrified and riveted to the ground, on beholding a serpent hissing at him, immediately behind the old woman just mentioned. The mother herself is an admirable figure; she is evidently influenced by two contrary impulses, the one urging her to attempt to save her children, the other, to implore for them that aid from Heaven which she despairs of affording them herself. We see that the last has prevailed, and she accordingly casts an imploring look of supplication upon the symbolic brazen serpent.

“ Behind this group, and in the distance, are seen a number of the Israelites running about frantically, while a shower of serpents descends upon them. Some have already taken to flight; others hope to fence themselves by wrapping their garments closely around them; while those upon whom the serpents have actually fastened are vainly struggling, and endeavouring to shake them off. By way of relief to this part of his picture, where he vividly represents to us various degrees of distress and horror, the artist now introduces some images of a less painful character. Close by the group of the mother and children, is a man supporting a female wrapped up in white drapery, who has been wounded by one of the serpents. Her countenance expresses bodily anguish, but at the same time cheering confidence and hope, as she gazes upon the brazen serpent, whose salutary influence she already begins to feel. To these figures succeeds that of another woman accompanied by her two young children, one of whom she holds by the hand, while the other follows her. Her concern is evidently for her offspring alone, with whom she is hurrying to take refuge near the brazen serpent. The next group is that of a mother supporting the head of her dying son, who is lying on a fragment of rock. Deep affliction manifests itself in

her features and attitude, yet subdued in some degree by resignation ; for she appears to exclaim, ' The Lord hath given—the Lord hath taken away.' Passing to the extreme left of the picture, in the foreground, we behold a man in the prime of life and strength, supporting his aged blind father, whom he is anxiously conducting towards the brazen serpent, as to the only asylum from destruction. He is followed by his wife, who assists him in helping the old man along, while their little boy clings to his father's girdle. In the background, on this side of the picture, is seen the brazen serpent elevated upon a pole, at the foot of which are a number of females, whose varied attitudes and gestures are all expressive of joy and gratitude at being protected by the saving symbol. In the centre of the picture, and towards the background, stands Moses himself, a majestic figure, marked by that authoritative and awful dignity becoming the Jewish lawgiver ; while the surrounding throng reverently make way for him, flinging themselves on the ground before him, and hailing him as their conductor and protector."

Thus much must suffice of Signor Filippo Mercuri's description of the picture, our space not allowing us to give the whole of it, and even now we have been obliged to omit some parts in what we have extracted. Still, enough has been quoted to enable the reader to form a tolerable notion of the general composition, and of the manner in which the Russian artist has treated the subject. Of the critic's subsequent remarks we shall give no more than a general summary, namely, that the execution of this picture manifests a severe and pure style, and proves the artist to be an attentive studier of both Raffaelle and Michelagnolo, yet not a mere imitator of their manner, but gifted with originality of conception and feeling,—conscious of his own powers, and ambitious of exerting them worthily. There is likewise a description by the same writer, of three smaller pictures by Bruni executed by him for a Russo-Greek church ; viz. a Virgin and Infant Christ, both represented standing on clouds, the former holding the latter by the hand ; the Saviour, also shown in the same manner ; and Christ praying in the garden. The first two are painted on a gold ground, as being a suitable manner of treating religious subjects of this kind, which are purely symbolic. Of another of Bruni's performances, representing one of the Horatii slaying his sister, there is an outline engraving, which shows it to be a work of great ability in regard to composition, and also as respects attention to costume. Beyond this we can offer no opinion, because it would be exceedingly hazardous to pretend to speak of its other qualities upon no better authority than a mere outline copy on a very reduced scale, and unaccompanied by any description. The picture itself is in the Academy of Arts at St. Petersburg.

From what has just been said it will be concluded, that gra-

phic illustrations form part of the plan of the "*Gazeta*," they do not, however, appear regularly in each number of the publication, those which we have as yet received for the present year containing only two, the other being from a picture by a young artist named Ivanov, representing Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the garden. More however are promised, and among them one or two architectural subjects, including the design of the Church of St. Catherine Velikomuzhenitsa, or the Martyr, which has lately been erected at St. Petersburg, and which, it seems, is greatly admired by the public of that capital for the Byzantine character of its style. This we learn from an article in the third number of the *Gazeta*, which gives a recapitulation of the principal structures that have been erected at St. Petersburg within about the last ten years, together with mention of a few at Moscow. Great praise in particular is bestowed upon Ton, the architect of the above-mentioned church and several other edifices. We have never happened to meet with the name anywhere before, neither does it appear to us at all like a Russian one; while, if foreign, it has probably been much metamorphosed, as is generally the case when such names are *translated* into Russian characters, so that unless, as is frequently done—and ought invariably to be so—the name be also printed in Roman type according to its genuine orthography, it is hardly possible to recognize or to decipher it. This, therefore, must be accepted as an excuse for the uncertainty we feel in the present instance. After all, we should be glad to discover, that, notwithstanding his stumbling-block of a surname, Constantine Andreevitch can fairly be claimed by Russia as her own, and that it is native talent which is here eulogized.

We had written thus far when some additional sheets—sixteen pages being the average complement of each number—reached us, one of which contains the last annual report made to the Committee of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts. Unless it sets things in a far more favourable light than the reality warrants, this document affords grounds for concluding that the exertions on the part of the Society are now beginning to be productive of very successful results. In 1836 it tried the experiment of a lottery of works of art, which so far exceeded its expectations, that, although the number of tickets was limited to one thousand, upwards of seven times that number could have been disposed of. In consequence of this, the Society have resolved to apply to government for permission to establish a regular series of such lotteries, with the view of not only being enabled thereby to give frequent commissions to native artists, or to purchase works which they may have upon hand, but also of thus

diffusing various productions of art among all classes of the public. How far a speculation of this nature is compatible with a regard to the higher interests of art, admits of very great doubt. Many plausible arguments may be urged relative to it both *pro* and *con*: the immediate consequences are no doubt obviously beneficial, by opening a market to artists for their productions, and creating an increasing demand for them. The danger is, that, in order to adapt itself to such patronage, and to conciliate popular taste, art will descend to the level of the public, instead of seeking to lift up the latter to its own. All that we can say is, that such a system accords well enough with the spirit of the present age, when even taste is required to co-operate for the service of the many, though it should thereby forfeit some of its higher prerogatives. We are anxious to have short cuts to every thing; so, as it is a tedious and laborious task to educate the public to art, art must perforce lend itself to be trained to please the public, upon whose favour, it is told, its very existence depends; nor can we censure the Russian "Society" for following the example previously set by Germany, where *Kunstvereine* and picture-lotteries are, we will not exactly say among the fashions of the day, but among the plans recurred to for promoting art, and securing to it patronage and support on the broadest basis. The intention itself is most excellent, and, as far as mere appearances go, the experiment will succeed; yet we should do well not to be too sanguine: the first shoots and green leaves may look quite vigorous and thriving, but the fruit may nevertheless turn out to be altogether worthless and insipid.

We have not yet done with the Report, for, among the information that it supplies as to what is actually going on in Russia, we learn from it that Bruni is now engaged upon a series of historical subjects taken from the annals of the empire, which he has undertaken at the solicitation of the Society. These, we are told, are now in the course of being engraved by the artist himself on copper, and therefore conclude them to be outline compositions etched by him, in which supposition we are confirmed by its being stated, that upwards of thirty are already completed. In what form they will be published, whether in *livraisons* or the entire series together, we are not informed, it being only stated in addition that the descriptive letter-press will be written by Rezvoy, one of the members of the Society, whose knowledge of art, not less than his familiar acquaintance with the history of his country, well qualifies him for such a task. Submitted to the world in this shape, these compositions of Bruni's will either greatly extend his fame, or else diminish it, by showing, that however high a rank the partiality or the patriotism of his coun-

trymen may award him, he must be content with their suffrages, and not seek those of a European public. We trust, however, that, although other nations cannot fully enter into all the interests of the subjects themselves, they will see no cause for withholding their approbation from them as productions of art, but be able to recognize in them the manifestations of superior talent—power of mind as well as skill of hand—and readily welcome them accordingly.

Another publication, of whose speedy appearance promise is held out by the Report, is to consist of the works of the late Professor Ivan Petrovitch Martos, whose fame as a sculptor is not even now confined to Russia. What will be its extent we have not the means of judging; yet as it is said that sixty of the plates were then finished, and considerable progress made with the rest, except those of such works as were in distant parts of the country, and the drawings of which had not then reached St. Petersburg, we may presume that the whole number will amount to about a hundred. This artist, of whom some slight mention was made by us in our paper on Russian Annals, (No. XXXII.) has been complimented by his countrymen with the title of their Canova, and, although not equal to the Italian, is well entitled to a distinguished rank among modern sculptors. To assert that his productions will stand the test of a comparison with those of the latter, or of Thorwaldsen, would probably be raising expectation much too high; it will be enough for his fame and that of his country if they are found to approach them at no very great interval; and we hope that the engravings from them will do justice to their merits, and form a work deserving to be placed beside that of the illustrious Italian, and that of the no less illustrious Dane.

Among those of whom more particular and very honourable mention is made in the Report, are Raev, Shapovalov, and Ivanov. The first of these is a young artist, who has distinguished himself by his talent in landscape and perspective painting, especially by four panoramic views of St. Petersburg, which obtained for him, as a mark of the emperor's approbation, a gratuity of three thousand rubles. He is now engaged in making views of the scenery of Nizhnei-Taghil for M. Demidov. Respecting Shapovalov, we learn that he is quite a youth, who, having accompanied his master, Lieut. Kapnist, to Naples, was left there by him about two years ago, and taken into the service of a painter, named Doria. The talent which he displayed for drawing recommended him so strongly to his new master, that he was soon treated by him entirely as his pupil, and through the medium of Count Matushevitch, a pension of one hundred dollars has been

obtained for him from the Society, to enable him, after studying two years longer in the Museum at Naples, to proceed to Rome. Alexander Ivanov, who was another of the Society's *protégés*, is already well known to the public of St. Petersburg by his picture of Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream, which gained the gold medal of the first class at the Academy of Arts; and still more advantageously by that of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalén in the garden, which not only obtained for him the honour of being elected a member of the Academy, but has since been placed in the imperial gallery of the Hermitage, as a production highly creditable to Russian talent. This last-mentioned production is spoken of more at length in the sixth number of the *Gazeta*, which contains an outline of it. Ivanov is at present at Rome, where he has been commissioned by the Society to make copies of the three figures of Strength, Prudence, and Temperance, painted by Raffaelle in the third of the Vatican *stanze*, and held by connoisseurs among the *chefs-d'œuvre* of that great master's pencil. Of the larger and more celebrated productions of Raffaelle in the Vatican, the Imperial Academy of Arts already possesses the following copies; viz. The School of Athens, by Brulov; Heliodorus driven out of the Temple, by Bruni; St. Peter delivered from Prison; and the Miracle at Bolsena, by Basin. In addition to these and several smaller copies, Markov, whose picture from Krilov's admirable fable, Fortune and the Beggar, was lately purchased by the Academy for three thousand rubles, has been commissioned to paint one of the *Incendio del Borgo*. We are further told that the Russian engraver, Jordan, has, during his stay at Rome, made considerable progress with a plate after the Transfiguration,—a rather bold undertaking, considering that the same subject has been already engraved twice by Morghen, to say nothing of various other copies by eminent artists. The editor of the *Gazeta* himself remarks that no one has yet completely succeeded in doing justice to all the beauties of the original, yet does not consider this fresh attempt by his countryman to be at all a presumptuous one. Perhaps he will consider his expectations fully realized, should the work turn out not at all inferior to some of the former copies of the same picture. Hardly should we anticipate a much greater degree of success, when we are told, in this very journal, that in no one branch of art have the Russians made so little advance as in that of engraving.

Not the least interesting article is that in the form of a letter from the editor to a friend at Paris, wherein he gives him an account of the chief novelties connected with art at St. Petersburg, prefacing it by the advice that his countrymen should proceed straight to Rome by sea, and not permit themselves to form

any acquaintance with the modern schools either of France or Germany, until their taste shall have been matured and well disciplined by an attentive study of the acknowledged master-works of the pencil. At Paris, he observes, a man is in a good school for learning to talk about art; but it is at Rome that he will feel what art really is.

Our limited space forbids our attempting to go through this letter paragraph by paragraph; and therefore we shall confine ourselves to a few of its topics, one of which is in regard to some improvements contemplated for the *Gazeta* itself, in another volume, with which view the writer purposes to illustrate it with wood engravings, to the number of one hundred in the course of the year. He speaks at some length of the various portraits of the late Alexander Pushkin,\* and gives the preference to that which appeared in the annual entitled *Severnii Tsvet*, as being, though not the best in all other respects, the most correct in point of likeness. There are also small whole-length figures of him and of those other two popular poets Krilov and Zhokovsky, which are in great request with the public. Hobberg is spoken of in exceedingly warm—we hope not very exaggerated—terms of praise, for his ability as a sculptor, and the feeling which he infuses into whatever he executes. Great commendation, too, is bestowed upon Brulov's portraits; and his large picture of the Last Days of Pompeii, which attracted so much notice by its powerful effect, has, we are here informed, been copied for the purpose of being engraved at Paris. Bruni is again mentioned in this letter, which speaks of his having just finished a copy of Raffaelle's *Madonna d'Alba*, for which a commission was given him by the Emperor, and which is said to bear a most happy resemblance to the original. Basin likewise comes in for some share of notice, as being employed, during his convalescence from a disorder which attacked his eyes, in making studies of heads, &c. for two large pictures, to be executed by him for the church of the Academy at St. Petersburg; one representing the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the other the Nativity. As Lazhetznikov's name is introduced in speaking of Tseronov's portrait of him, we may as well avail ourselves of it in order to

\* This exceedingly popular poet was killed in a duel, at the beginning of the present year (1837), and thus cut off at the early age of thirty-seven,—a period of life when he might have looked forward to establishing his fame by some finished literary performance, worthy of his talents. Since his death, a complete edition of his works has been announced, in six volumes, octavo, for the benefit of his widow and family. It will contain all his prose writings, including his *History of Pugatchev's Insurrection*, which will occupy the whole of the fifth volume. In the last will be given a biographical memoir of him. For an account of his Poltava and some other of his poems, we refer the reader to an article in our Eighteenth Number, which gives some translated extracts from that production.

remark that, although he made his *début* in authorship only three or four years ago, he is now one of the most able and popular novel writers that Russia possesses. It must be admitted that, where the ranks are so exceedingly thin, it is not very difficult to earn distinction; yet even Russia has, within the exceedingly brief space of time just mentioned, seen that class of its writers increase at least threefold, and can reckon among them such fresh and original talent as that of Odejevsky, Gogol, and Pavlov; names which, until very lately, had never reached us. Lazhetznikov's happiest production, the *Last of the Noriks*, the scene of which is laid in the time of Peter the Great, and which introduces to us both that monarch and his sister Sophia among its historical personages, is quite in the Walter Scott manner, but far superior to the ordinary imitations of it, and has many exceedingly well-drawn scenes and descriptions.

Brief as it is in itself, the above literary digression prevents our proceeding with recapitulating the other notices contained in the editor's letter to his friend at Paris,—further than saying that the landscape-painter, Rabus, is making an artistical tour through the Crimea and Greece, during which he purposes making views of the most striking scenery in those countries. Neither have we left ourselves room to speak of any of the other articles, otherwise we should be disposed to give some account of that on the history of scene-painting in Russia, or rather on the difficulty of obtaining any materials for one—a difficulty, by the by, not confined to Russia alone. The scenery by Phedorov and others, in some of the modern operas and pieces of *spectacle*, is spoken of as having contributed in no small degree to their popularity, particularly the scenes executed by Phedorov for the *Bronze Horse*. A publication, consisting of the plans and details of the *Alexander Column*, would also claim more attention from us than we can now bestow upon it. It will consist of forty-eight lithograph plates, thirty-seven of which will be expressly devoted to showing all the previous operations of quarrying, transporting, and finally erecting, that immense granite *monolith*.

Should our readers at all participate in the interest we take in whatever relates to the progress of the arts in Russia, they will thank us even for the above slight and desultory sketch. Many of them will, no doubt, be very sceptical both as to our general report and that to which we are indebted for much of what we have stated. Yet, without laying claim to the gift of prophecy, we may venture to assert that the time is approaching when foreigners who shall visit Russia will direct their attention to those productions of native talent which may be understood without a previous acquaintance with the idiom of the country, because they speak a universal language.

ART. VI.—*Vermischte Historische Schriften.* Von H. L. Heeren, Erster Theil. *Ueber die Entstehung, die Ausbildung, und den politischen Einfluss der politischen Theorien, und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neueren Europa.* (Miscellaneous Historical Works. By H. L. Heeren, Vol. I.—On the Rise, Progress, and practical Influence of Political Theories, and on the Preservation of the Monarchical Principle in Modern Europe.)

THE construction of new constitutions, and the consideration of theories of government, have been lately the occupation of half the nations of the world; our own constitution has recently undergone one important change, and is threatened with others. It is therefore that we seize the opportunity of speculating upon these subjects, in company with our learned professor.

It is, perhaps, not very easy to collect, from the title of this Essay, or even from the work itself, a precise notion of Heeren's object, in proposing the questions which he thus enumerates,—

“ How the spirit of inquiry, with regard to distinctions in the forms of government, first arose in modern Europe? How this became the source of political reasoning? How this again formed the base of abstract theories? What practical influence the latter executed generally, and what in particular, upon the late revolutions? With these (he says) another, and that of the highest practical importance, becomes naturally associated; viz.—What is necessary for the preservation of *monarchical principles* in constitutional governments? In this case the inquiry is to be directed only to the constitution, not to the administration, of power in the different states.”—p. 116.

The Professor nowhere states precisely what he means by the preservation of the monarchical principle, but we collect from the whole that he intends us to consider, how far it may be possible to carry into effect the theoretical principles, and the prevailing sentiments, which assign to the people a large share in the government, without converting every state into a *republic*, in form or substance.

The habits of philosophical inquiry arose and perfected themselves, according to our author, in ancient Greece; he traces them to the struggles which took place with regard to the forms of the constitutions, and to the neighbourhood of other states governed in various manners. The habit was dormant during the middle ages, because the feudal system admitted of no free citizenship, and allowed no varieties of government.

It might have been expected first to give signs of life in Italy, where, “ all the ordinary causes appear to have united;—a number of small states arose near each other, republican constitu-

tions were established, political parties were everywhere at work and at variance; and with all this, the arts and sciences were in the full splendour of their revival." Yet political theories were as few in Italy as they had been many in Greece; for which we may perhaps account, if we remember that "there never was a philosophical system of character or influence which prospered under the sky of Italy." Roman philosophy was a mere echo of the Grecian; and again, at the *revival* of science after the period of darkness, Plato and Aristotle were the chief and only guides. While speculative science made no great advance among the Italians, they were nevertheless the deepest and most accomplished politicians. Their principles never ripened into a science. Machiavel himself affords a strong confirmation of this averment.

We shall not renew the controversy concerning the *true* character of the political writings of Machiavel; they are now literary curiosities, to which no politician ventures to refer. He lived, according to Hume, in too early an age of the world to be a good judge of political truth.\* There is no necessity at this day for recurring to a writer, with whom the Prince, not the People, constituted the object of consideration.†

The reformation in religion became the origin of political freedom in Europe, and ultimately of political speculation. Would it not be more correctly stated, that the disposition to think for themselves, which the revival, however slow, of learning, generated in men, appeared first in matters of religion, but soon extended itself to politics and civil institutions? Yet it may assuredly be said, that the sanction, necessarily, but not always purposely, given to free inquiry, by the adoption of the principles of the Reformation, or some of them, in high places, gave great encouragement to freedom of thought in matters of civil government.

In the United Netherlands, the creature of the Reformation, the desire of deliverance from religious and from civil tyranny went hand in hand; and, accordingly, we are told (p. 122) this country produced the celebrated treatise on war and peace by Grotius, by which he was "led into researches into the natural rights of man."‡

\* *Essay*, xii. *Works*, iii. 99.

† See on Machiavel, Dugald Stewart's *Introduction to the Encyclopedia*; and some remarks in *Edinburgh Review*, xlvi. 289.

‡ Grotius only treats this subject incidentally, and it is not quite fair to quote his authority. His notion is, that a people may give themselves up as subjects to a king, as a man might, by the Hebrew or Roman law, give himself up as a slave. And he appears to think that where such a contract is made there is no case for resistance. Grotius was born in 1583, and published his work in 1625. See b. 1, c. 3. Grotius frequently refers to Aristotle, but does not follow him.

John Bodin, a writer very little known in England, (though his work was translated by Knolles,\* whose history of the Turks has been lauded by Johnson,) is mentioned (p. 125) as the first writer who materially advanced the science of civil government, and was no unworthy precursor of Montesquieu. He was the first who, carefully avoiding to set up any perfect ideal constitution, gave an explanation of all the circumstances of climate and of national peculiarities, whether mental or bodily, which ought to be considered in framing the constitution of a state. These appeared, for instance, in the preference of the Venetians for an aristocracy, and of the Florentines for a democracy: yet Bodin appears to approve of none but a monarchical government. His chief peculiarity consists in his rejection of all mixed *constitutions*, and the adoption of a rather extraordinary principle of mixture in *administrations*; thus—

“ As of unity dependeth the union of all members, which have no power but from it, so also is one sovereign person in every commonwealth necessary, from the power of whom all others orderly depend. But as there cannot be good music wherein there is not some discord, which must of necessity be intermingled to give the better grace unto the harmony, which the good musician does to make the concert of the fourth, the fifth, and the eighth, the more pleasing and tunable, some discord running before which may make the concert much more sweet unto the ear; as do also cunning cooks, who to give the better taste unto their good meats, serve in therewith certain dishes of sharp and unsavoury sauces; and as the cunning painter, to grace his picture, and to give the greater show unto his brighter colours, still shadoweth the same with black, or some other dark colour, (for that the nature of all things in the world is such, as to lose their grace, if they taste not sometimes of disgrace, and that pleasure always continuing becometh unsavory, dangerous, and unpleasant); so also, is it necessary that there should be some fools among wise men, some unworthy of their charge amongst men of great experience, and some evil and vicious men amongst the good and virtuous, to give them the greater lustre, and to make the difference known (even by the pointing of the finger, and the sight of the eye) between virtue and vice, knowledge and ignorance.”—p. 791.

We shall not inquire whether in the construction of any modern Divans, or Chancelleries, the rule of this Frenchman has been followed; “ Bodin’s work did not attain to that practical influence which,” as Heeren thinks, “ it deserved.” We own that we deem it worthily consigned to oblivion; it is not unnecessary to refer to the low state of political philosophy in France during the seventeenth century,† to account for its failure of effect. In-

\* “ Of the Laws and Customs of a Commonwealth, &c. written by J. Bodin, a famous Lawyer, and a man of great experience in matters of State. . . . done into English by Richard Knolles, 1615.”

† Bodin was born in 1530; his work was published in 1577.

deed it is not very easy to say, what fruit it would have produced if it had fallen upon a genial soil.

It was in England, in Heeren's correct opinion, that theories of government were destined to flourish;\* there the feudal customs fell rapidly in disuse, and the vassals obtained privileges which by degrees ripened into a final warrant of their liberties in *Magna Charta* (1215). The British constitution assumed its peculiar character before those of France and Spain; from "the different shape which rank assumed in England, the variety of relations which existed between the nobles and the commons, and by means of which it became possible to constitute the lower House in such a form as it afterwards assumed."

He speaks particularly of the more complete separation of the higher and lower nobility, which produced the union of the latter with the middle orders, so as to *form one house with them*.† There was thus an assembly "which needed only a confluence of fortunate events to give it life, and breathe sentiments of freedom into the people. This the Reformation effected."—(p. 192.)

Although Heeren refers to the reign of Elizabeth, as developing the political greatness of England, which tended *ultimately* to political freedom, he takes no notice of the distinguished English writer who laid the foundation of those theories of government which, in the succeeding century, became predominant. The work of *Richard Hooker* was published within twenty years of that of Bodin; and therein first, so far as we know, is to be found the doctrine of the *original contract*.‡

The omission to notice this systematic writer on polity is the more remarkable, as the professor observes, that the troubles in England (at the commencement of the seventeenth century) were

\* P. 128. The small state of Geneva alone disputes with it the pre-eminence.

† In regard to the peculiarities to which Heeren apparently refers in these passages, the reader is requested to consult the eighth chapter of Hallam's *Middle Ages*, (ii. 476, and also iii. 56.) The lower nobility, or those whom we denominate the gentry, including the younger sons of peers, did not possess any of the privileges appertaining to the higher nobility, and so soon as the Commons sat in a separate House, the knights of shires were associated not with the lords, but with the burgesses. An assembly representing a body of this mixed description, was necessarily more powerful and less dangerous than one representing a mass from which all men of noble birth, and the greater portion of landed proprietors, were excluded. Hallam refers to *Fortescue* (ch. 9, Amos, p. 26.) for illustration of the free spirit of the English Constitution in the time of Edward IV. Fortescue's work is unquestionably most valuable and interesting; but surely Mr. Amos, the editor of *Fortescue*, goes too far when he cites the passages in which the King's inability to tax the people, without their consent, is proof of the fundamental principle in the English constitution, that "no man can be compelled to relinquish his property without his consent." Fortescue's people are represented by the House of Commons as constituted in his time.—Hallam also refers to *Philip de Comines*, (b. 4, c. 1, and b. 5, c. 19, in *Petitot*, xii. 101 and 299,) for the estimation in which our constitution was held by a counsellor of Louis XI.

‡ See the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, published in 1597, and various passages quoted by *Locke* in his treatise on government.

more favourable than similar events in other countries to "the developement of political speculations"—(p. 132) because *they* did not arise altogether from practical grievances, but "depended from the first upon theoretical points of dispute."—(p. 133.) The Stuarts, he says, enuntiated their high monarchical principles. Elizabeth had acted upon them, but was too wise to bring them before the public. Yet it is somewhat remarkable that two of King James's speeches to parliament are quoted by Locke,\* for their correct exposition of the position and duty of a king.

Heeren passes lightly over the civil wars, but says that all circumstances contributed "to advance political speculations to the utmost. And the desire to found their practical reforis upon theoretical principles appeared in the declaration issued by the parliament after the death of Charles I.; wherein "they supposed it would not be denied that the first institution of the office of a King in this nation was *by agreement of the people*, who chose one to that office, for the protection and good of them who chose him, and for their better government, according to such laws as they did consent unto."†

As a specimen of the almost incredible extent to which *kingly* writers carried their positions, Heeren mentions the *patriarcha* of Sir Robert Filmer, who deduced monarchy in hereditary succession from Adam and the patriarchs. This foolish book has been long ago forgotten.

He speaks more highly of Hobbes,‡ "who defended his opinion with very different weapons." His theory was, that men in a state of nature were in continual hostility, and *fear* made them form themselves into civil society by some specific agreement; hence "the state is founded upon a compact." Though Hobbes's theory did not exclude an aristocracy or a democracy (if by compact and unmixed), he preferred a *despotic monarchy*.

A second English writer well known, but little regarded, of whom Heeren takes no notice, is Harington. His theory ran chiefly upon an agrarian or property law; his object being to prevent an overwhelming power or influence from large possessions. His commonwealth was founded on the principle of *rotation* as well as election, in regard both to deputies and to officers. Still he recognized a distinction of men according to property. The *horse* (or equestrian order) included all persons having more than 100*l.* a year. Hobbes and Harington may pair

\* B. 2, ch. 18, sec. 200. Speeches of March 19, 1603, Parl. Hist. 1, 983, and one in 1609, which we cannot trace. On the former we have made some remarks in our Vol. XIX. 141.

† Parl. Hist. iii. 1293. We are indebted to the English translator of Heeren for pointing out this passage.

‡ P. 137. Hobbes was born in 1588, and died in 1679; *De Cive* was published in 1642.

*off*; a man may be an excellent statesman\* without reading a word of either.†

We should have expected to hear something of Puffendorff, whose great work is still quoted, though not often in reference to civil government. This writer devotes some sections to the refutation of Hobbes, not only for his loose morality, but for his denial of a *compact* between sovereign and people. Puffendorff's system *presumes* a compact as the foundation of every government between king and people, or among all the members of the community;—as our common law courts sometimes presume a bye-law to regulate elections, or other matters, within corporations. Yet he will not have this called a *fiction*.‡

We mention these omitted writers, because, with the opinions which we hold, of all these speculations on the origin and foundation of government, we think it fair to show that we have not neglected the great authorities who appear to be against us.

According to Heeren, "Filmer attained to much greater authority than Hobbes," and was accordingly singled out by Sidney and Locke as the worthier enemy. Possibly he was selected even by these celebrated writers, one of whom, at least, was equal to a more powerful antagonist, as affording the most easy triumph.

Of Algernon Sidney's work, Heeren speaks slightly. "We may fairly say that his name has done more for it than it has done for his name;" and "the theory of government gained very little at the hands of Sidney," (p. 147). Both these positions are true, and yet the book is a better book than others of which Heeren speaks favourably. One merit of the book is, that it does *not* set up a "theory of government." Of those who made this attempt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not one succeeded; and Sidney's work is creditably distinguished from theirs, by having less of fiction and fancy. Although a strong republican spirit pervades his book, Sidney admits that a pure democracy is practicable only in a small town, and he gives the preference to a mixed government, of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. His authority was quoted by the federalists in America, in opposition to the more violent republicans.§ He makes his king subordinate to the law, (as he unquestionably is,) and accountable to the people in extreme cases; but these derogations from the majesty of kings are expressed in strong and disrespectful terms, such as

\* The lovers of ballot however will find in pp. 54 and 113, (edit. 1747,) a strong recommendation of the ballot, illustrated by an engraving.

† Yet Heeren takes much notice of Harrington's *Essays*, VII. and XVI.

‡ Puffendorff holds that no man can be bound by a *majority* till he has *consented* so to be. In ch. 8 of book 7, he admits of exceptions to the rule of obeying the supreme power, and very properly limits them to extreme cases.

§ See Adams's *Defence of the American Constitution*, i. 148.

a man uses who has no great indisposition to come to the extremity to which they are applicable. Of the two passages selected as treasonable by Sir Robert Sawyer,\* one, if not both, may be said to go technically beyond the law; but when it is remembered, that they were parts of an answer to the assertion of the divine right, and absolute irresponsibility of kings, they cannot be deemed inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution; though they contemplate a more active and perpetual controul on the part of the people, than is consistent with a regular government.

The doctrines of Sir Robert Filmer soon received a death-blow in the famous vote of both Houses of Parliament, affirming an original contract between king and people, and the substitution of a new king for the representative of Adam. To justify this *evolution* was apparently the object of Locke's celebrated treatise.

So far as it was necessary to this object that he should expose the absurdities of Filmer, his task was easy; not so, the construction of a theory, itself free from absurdity.

According to that which Locke has framed, the natural state of man is one of perfect freedom, equality, and independence, and out of this no man can be taken, otherwise than by his own consent (ch. 8, sec. 96-7); and this consent, he assumes, implies a consent to be bound by the majority.† He denies, however, that any man is bound by the consent of his father (sec. 118); but if the father have left to him any land or other possession within the country, and has attached to it a condition of allegiance to the state, he is then bound, as if he had given his personal assent (sec. 119).

As to this implied consent, however, where there is no inherited property, Locke is not very clear; in one place he attaches it to the mere circumstance of being within the territory of the conventional government (sec. 119). Yet in another he affirms that even submission to the laws does not make a man a member of the society; there must be a positive engagement, an express promise and compact (sec. 122).

\* "The power originally in the people of England is delegated unto the parliament. The king is subject to the law of God, as he is a man; to the people that makes him a king, inasmuch as he is a king; the law sets a measure unto that subjection, and the parliament judges of the particular cases therupon arising. He must be content to submit his interest unto theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any other respect than that he is, by the consent of all, raised above any other. If he does not like this condition, he may renounce the crown; but if he receive it, upon that condition (as all magistrates do the power they receive), and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted, or revenge taken by those that he hath betrayed."—"We may therefore change, or take away kings, without breaking any yoke, as that is made a yoke which ought not to be one, the injury is therefore in making or imposing, and there can be none in breaking it."—State Trials, 1. 819. We cannot find these passages in the book itself, Edit. 1772.

† He says, this is always implied, and seems to think a community could not go on else.

Another part of his doctrine, of which more use has been made is, that even the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property *without his own consent*, (sec. 138); but this is explained to mean, that all men may be called upon to pay their proportion of the necessary charge of the government; still it must be with their own consent, that is, *the consent of the majority*, giving it *either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them*, (sec. 140).

Heeren has taken little notice of the difficulties attending Locke's theory, and even thinks that *it is carried into practical effect in the English Constitution*. The philosopher himself, in attempting to reconcile his theory with the practice of his country, found one difficulty in the imperfections of our parliamentary representation, and even starts a doubt whether any power within the state could so far depart from the form of government established by the *original contract*, as to remedy these imperfections. He was frightened by his own creature. However, he gets over this difficulty of his own formation, and is clearly an advocate for parliamentary reform, though still it ought, according to him, to emanate from the sovereign, who calls the parliament.

Heeren supposes Locke's treatise to be applicable without modification to England, and to have become the text-book of the English nation, and to have been treated there with such blind respect, as to deter other writers from the study of the science of government; and it is not without apologies that he ventures to suggest a deduction from what he calls the undoubted merits of Locke. Yet, in truth, he destroys the philosophical character, or at least negatives the usefulness of the work, when he accounts for its being partial and incomplete by its having reference only to one particular state. By degrees he gets bolder, and expresses a suspicion, that if the constitutions of well-governed countries (he instances Denmark and Prussia) are not to be deemed rightful constitutions, because all Locke's conditions are not fulfilled, the fault lies rather in the theorist, than in the states themselves; "*and so*," he at last sensibly concludes, "*and so in truth it does*," (p. 155).

But Heeren overrates the estimation of Locke's book in England; he supposes it to have been "*current, if not among the mass of the people, at least among the well-informed and educated part*," (p. 153).

We suspect that the fact was nearly reversed. Not, perhaps, among the mass, but in the herd of talking and unthinking politicians, the doctrines of Locke were familiarly cited, while they were quietly rejected by more sober and reflecting men.

We are now speaking of the period between the Revolution

and the contest with the American Colonies; in this period there was little discussion, and not much thought in England, of original contracts or first principles of government. The Whig party was in power, and had no object in putting forward their liberal theories.

In this interval, however, two continental writers appeared, both very much known, but not either of them now much followed. These were Montesquieu and Rousseau.

About the middle of the eighteenth century "the spirit of the French nation received a sudden impulse from the hand of one who became to the French what Locke was to the English." The "Esprit des Loix" of Montesquieu obtained at once a great influence; yet Heeren asks the rather disrespectful question, "what is the real worth of this book, and what has been effected by it?" (p. 164). We have no concern with this celebrated work, except in as far as it treats of the principles of government, and we entirely agree with Heeren, that although Montesquieu has afforded much *matter of thought*, he has not very clearly developed the first principles of the science of government; all that is practical in this part of the book is a laudatory description of the Constitution of England. "If therefore," says Heeren, "the idea of a *monarchy limited by representation of the people*, became cherished by the greater part of the people of France, as the result of the first national assembly proved to be the case, this must be mainly attributed, next to the example supplied by England, to the work of Montesquieu."

The causes of the French Revolution are too large a subject for an incidental opinion here; but we must disclaim, on the part of England, any fellowship with even the earliest of the constitutions, which that Revolution produced. The Revolutionists showed from the beginning, that they went far beyond England or Montesquieu. Indeed, Heeren himself says that it was the "*Contrat social*" of Rousseau, that became the text-book of revolution; a work assuredly containing principles neither warranted by the example of England, nor enforced by Montesquieu.

One of Heeren's remarks upon Rousseau satisfies us that it is unnecessary to follow him through the rest. Not only was the book one of "pure speculation," but the little state of Geneva was the only one in which its principles could, to their full extent, become applicable, (p. 172). It is enough that we recollect, that Rousseau was the advocate of a purely popular government, and yet abhorred *representation*.

From the mode in which Heeren speaks of "the example of England, as operating upon France, it appears that he referred to the *old English Constitution* and its admirable working. But he takes no notice of the transactions between England and her Colo-

nies, which are supposed to have contributed to the French Revolution, through the peculiar part which France took in them, and which brought into discussion the dormant principles of *Locke*, and gave a new character to political discussions in England.

It must be remembered, that our remarks upon the *abeyance* of *Locke's* principles referred to the period antecedent to the American war. It is remarkable, that while *Heeren* persuades himself that the principles of *Locke* had been carried into effect in England, he takes no notice of the contest between England and her American colonies; a contest which not only produced a host of political theories, and revived the slumbering *Essay on Government*, but ended in the establishment of a government professedly founded upon the native rights of man.

The colonists quoted *Montesquieu*\* for the natural right of self-government, and they claimed, as Englishmen, to be delivered from "*taxation without representation*;" and from the commencement of this contest it may be truly said, that

"Several of the most eminent practical statesmen of Great Britain—we need only mention Lord Chatham as one—recognized *Locke's* principles upon every occasion in parliament," and thus, in the opinion of Professor *Heeren*, "added to his character for abstract philosophy, that of the surest practical discernment."—p. 154.

Lord Chatham undoubtedly was apt, from an early period of his career, to bring forward the *people* in political discussion, and on the occasion of the dispute with America, he maintained, with great vehemence, that part of the doctrine of *Locke*, which teaches *that no man is to be taxed without his own consent*; following *Locke*, however, in his important modification of that doctrine, which allows of consent by an elected representation, and the omnipotence of a *majority* of the representatives. It is a very remarkable fact, that while Chatham thus upheld *Locke's* doctrine in respect of *taxation*, he trampled upon all that regarded *legislation*. Chatham was always *vehement*, and he was as eager to assert the right of legislation, as to disclaim the power of taxation.—We cannot even recollect any distinction or reservation, which would have prevented England from requiring

\* Address to Quebec, 26th October, 1774. Ann. Reg. 218.—While the New Englanders and other colonists thus invited their brethren in the old French colonies to join with them in asserting the inalienable rights of man, they showed that these rights were not American, more than by English whiggery, to be applied to matters of religion, and that popery and arbitrary power were still deemed inseparable. "We think," they told the people of Great Britain, in reference to the *liberal* measures contemplated in Canada, "that the Legislature is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe."—Sep. 5, 1774. Ann. Reg. 208.

from a colonial subject even *personal service*; though the extraction of a penny from his pocket was against the rights of nature, and the principles of Locke! The opponents of Lord Chatham told him at the time, that they could not understand his distinction, but they were no match for him in oratory. It is a fault which we have observed in other orators than Chatham, when they are labouring to establish a particular point, to throw away, almost with indignation, all that is about it. They thus give greater strength to the position which they are desirous to maintain, and perhaps obtain credit for a discriminating mind; but the distinction is often without a difference;—the practice is neither philosophical nor statesmanlike.

The first of the eminent writers whom this contest excited was Samuel Johnson.—He showed the inconsistency of the simultaneous demand of the rights of man, and the rights of Englishmen; and he treated with deserved contempt, Lord Chatham's distinction between taxation and general legislation.\* But he enunciated no theory of government, and indeed treated the transaction, of which he did not perceive the importance, or foresee the result, with more of technical correctness than of philosophical wisdom.

Edmund Burke took a memorable part in the discussion. Nothing, perhaps, is more worthy to be observed in his well-known speeches, than his almost contemptuous rejection of theory. Profound and philosophical thinker as he was, he forbore to dogmatize upon the origin of government. He avoided the “great Serbonian bog” in which Hooker and Locke had floundered. His rule of practice was found in precedent, and in the probability of success in the desired object of conciliation.

“I am not going,” he said, “into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries; I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood; and these conditions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind America by Laws of Trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning: Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the argu-

\* “There are some, and those not inconsiderable in number, nor contemptible for knowledge, who except the power of taxation from the general dominion of parliament, and hold, that whatever degrees of obedience may be exacted, or whatever authority may be exercised in other acts of government, there is still reverence to be paid to money, and that legislation passes its limits when it violates the purse. Of this suggestion, which by a head not fully impregnated with politics, is not easily comprehended, it is alleged as an unanswerable reason, that the colonies send no representatives to the House of Commons.”—*Taxation no Tyranny*, 1775, *Works*, xii. 194.

ments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if, intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, by the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme Sovereignty, you will teach them by that means to call that Sovereignty itself into question."\*

Again,

" Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view, as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind."†

It was rather before this time that Dr. Joseph Priestley, more adventurous than Burke, wrote "upon the first principles of Government."‡ But in truth he admitted *circumstances* largely into his system. He supposes, and apparently desires it to be taken as a supposition, and not a fact, that political societies were formed by mutual compact; but he follows Locke (whom he does not name) no further than this; he does not require a continual renewal of the compact, and evidently considers the government that is, though it may consist of King, Lords, and Commons, imperfectly represented as a *prima facie* legitimate government. Though he repudiates passive obedience, and allows *the people*, a term which he does not attempt to define, to supersede the government in cases of manifest oppression or abuse, he puts extreme cases only;§ and it does not appear to us that he recognizes the right of the people to interfere, otherwise than in constitutional form, upon a mere difference of opinion.

Dr. Price|| professed to found his doctrines upon those of

\* *Speech on American Taxation*, 19th April, 1774, *Works*, ii. 432.—It is clear, however, that Burke was prepared to maintain the right, for he suggested (p. 437), that if the Colonies would not voluntarily contribute to the general expenses, the supreme legislature might ultimately interfere.

† *On Conciliation with America*, Mar. 22, 1775, iii. 31. In this speech he did so far connect taxation with representation as to urge, in p. 86, the example of Wales and other parts of the island conciliated by the privilege of sending representatives to parliament; and he proposed to resolve that the mode of taxing by Colonial Assemblies had been *more agreeable* than taxing by Parliament.

‡ *An Essay on the First Principles of Government, and on the Nature of political, civil, and religious Liberty, &c.* London, 1771. Priestley was born in 1733, and died in 1804.

§ See p. 43. We see little or nothing in Priestley's remarks on government, or civil liberty, (excluding always the question of religious establishments,) in which a liberal Tory might not concur.

|| Born in 1783, died in 1743. His *Observations on Civil Liberty* were published in 1775, and his *Observations on Civil Government* in 1777. For the former he received the thanks of the Common Council of London.

Locke and Priestley, but he fell far short of the one, and he went as much beyond the other. Civil liberty, he thought, in its most perfect degree, could not exist except in a state so small as to allow of personal suffrage (not in election but in decision), and of the eligibility of every man to a public office.\* Representation he allowed to be an inadequate substitute, but insisted upon the necessity of frequent elections, and a continued control over the representative.—(p. 10.) Provided there were this full representation of the people at large, he allowed of a hereditary King, and a hereditary Chamber, as part of the legislature. The English Constitution he appears to think defective only in the inadequacy of the representation. But he was far from considering the unrepresented portion of the English community as slaves, in the sense in which he regarded as such the American colonists.—(p. 43.) He admitted clearly, though perhaps not in words, of virtual representation, and of the rights of a constitution which worked practically well. As for the original contract he does not even name it. This is foul rebellion against Locke; while in putting in the same category taxation and internal legislation he trampled upon the nice discrimination of Chatham.

But the growing freedom of the age now produced men who ventured to attack Locke in front. Of these the principal was Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, a writer who is probably not at all known on the Continent, and not now read in England, but who is nevertheless one of great practical wisdom, who sometimes gave excellent advice.† He published in 1781‡ “a Treatise concerning Civil Government;” the first part of which was devoted to a refutation of “Mr. Locke and his followers.” Tucker was by no means the advocate of passive obedience; he was indeed, as almost every Englishman of the time was, a professed Whig, (but certainly one of the old school,) and he plainly admitted the right of resistance by force of arms to the governors, or as, he styles them, *trustees* of the state, “if they should so far forget the nature of their office, as to act directly contrary thereunto in the general tenor of their administration, and if neither humble petition nor decent remonstrance can bring them to a sense of their duty. (p. 3.)

This Whig writer was the first who exposed in a systematic treatise the true nature of Locke's principles, and their conse-

\* *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty.*

† At a very early period of the dispute with America, Dean Tucker recommended that the desire of independence should be instantly and amicably gratified. He would have *emancipated* the colonists, as a son is emancipated when able to provide for himself.

‡ Tucker was born in 1712, died in 1799.

quences.\* He showed clearly that, according to Locke, every man has a right to reject the acts of the government, (however it may be constituted,) or to separate himself from it, if he shall think fit. (p. 27.) He shows that according to the doctrine of natural right, women are not to be excluded, (p. 33); and he asks, (p. 46,) in reference to one of Locke's contrivances for evading his own theory, how did a man become possessed of the right to annex to land or other property, descending to his children, the condition of adhering to the government?

He denies also the right of the majority to bind the minority; and easily refutes Priestley, who had come to the aid of his master with a *proviso*, that every member of the community had previously agreed to be bound by the vote of the majority. In short, he shows that the system of Locke is really and truly the same as that of the "honest and undissembling Rousseau," and does require the actual consent of every individual to every act of the Community.

There is a great deal in Tucker worth reading by those who wish to go further into the subject; but we are not sure but that, as Locke, after triumphantly exposing the nonsense of Filmer, floundered when he set up his own theory, so Tucker, after setting forth the absurdities of Locke, may have also got into some confusion when he treated of the "*true basis of civil government*."

Let us turn then to another opponent of Locke's, a writer who is more brief, more clear, and more popularly known, Archdeacon Paley, whose "*Moral Philosophy*"† is, we believe, "a text-book" at Cambridge, and must be well known among the Philosophers of Germany.

This writer compliments Locke with the epithet *venerable*, but is entirely opposed to his opinions.‡ To the *compact* he objects, 1st, That it is founded upon a supposition false in fact; and 2dly, That it leads to dangerous consequences. The first of these positions is now, we apprehend, generally admitted to be true; that the compact, as Paley observes, is sometimes proposed as a *fiction*. It was carrying a legal fiction rather far, when it was used to depose a King and change a dynasty. But though Paley thought that in his time the compact was still invoked as a real

\* It is due to Sir William Temple to mention, that in his *Essay on the Original and Nature of Government*, (i. 9,) he exposes this doctrine of original contracts, which he found in "the great writers concerning politics and laws. It seems calculated," he says, "for the account given by some of the old poets of the original of man, when they came out of the ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect stature and strength."

† First published in 1785. He was born in 1743, and died in 1805.

‡ B. 6, c. 3, p. 130 of Ed. 1790.

transaction, we believe that at this day no man of ordinary education would venture so to treat it.

Paley quotes from *Locke* the agreement by which the duty of obeying the government is carried down from "the first members of the state, *who were bound by express stipulation*," to the succeeding inhabitants, who are *understood* to promise allegiance to the constitution they find established, by accepting its protection, claiming its privileges, and acquiescing in its laws; more especially by the purchase or inheritance of *lands*, *to the possession of which allegiance to the state is annexed*, as the very service and condition of the tenure.\*

"Smoothly," writes Paley, "as this train of argument proceeds, little of it will endure examination. The native subjects of modern states are not conscious of any stipulations with their sovereigns, of ever exercising an election whether they will be bound or not by the acts of the legislature, of any alternative being proposed to their choice, of a promise either required or given; nor do they apprehend that the validity or authority of the laws depends at all upon their recognition or consent. In all stipulations, whether they be expressed or implied, private or public, formal or constructive, the parties stipulating must both possess the liberty of assent and refusal, and also be conscious of this liberty, which cannot, with truth, be affirmed of the subjects of civil government, as government is now, or ever was, actually administered. This is a defect which no arguments can excuse or supply; all presumptions of consent without this consciousness, or in opposition to it, are vain and erroneous."

And he, too, asks the question, which it is quite impossible to answer, "how did these first inhabitants acquire the right of disposing of their lands, with conditions annexed?" The "dangerous consequences" which Paley imputes to the doctrine of compact, are two-fold. It renders it impossible (for that may surely be deemed impossible which requires the unanimous assent of millions) lawfully to make improvements in the constitution; but, secondly, and this is the more probable danger, it puts the government at all times in jeopardy, and gives countenance to unreasonable resistance.

"The terms and articles of the social compact being nowhere extant or expressed, the rights and offices of the administrator of an empire being so many and various, the imaginary and controverted line of his prerogative being so liable to be overstepped in one part or other of it; the position that every such transgression amounts to a forfeiture of the government, and consequently authorizes the people to withdraw their obedience, and provide for themselves by a new settlement, would endanger the stability of every political fabric in the world, and has in fact

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\* This is from *Locke*, b. ii. c. 8, (p. 410 of 1801.)

always supplied the disaffected with a topic of seditious declamation."

He concludes with a very just and practical remark :

*"If occasions have arisen in which this plea has been resorted to with justice and success, they have been occasions in which a revolution was defensible upon other and plainer principles. The plea itself is at all times captious and unsafe."*

On the English revolution, as founded upon the breach of the original contract, we would recur to Dean Tucker, who has ably shown, (ch. 3, p. 89,) how little conformable the proceedings of 1688 were to the principles of Locke.

" What then was that great *national vote* which established the revolution ? A few scores of noblemen, and a few hundreds of gentlemen, together with some of the aldermen and common council of London, met at Westminster, but without any commission from the body of the people authorizing them to meet, and requested (thereby empowering,) the Prince and Princess of Orange to assume the royal prerogative, and to summon a new parliament. They summoned one accordingly, which was called the convention parliament. This assembly put the crown on their heads, the power of which they had exercised before ; the crown, I say, not only of England, but also of Ireland, and of all the English dominions throughout every part of the globe, and this too, *not only without asking the consent, but even acquainting the people of these other countries with their intention.* Now if this transaction can be said to be carried on agreeably to Mr. Locke's plan, or if it can be justified by his principles, I own myself the worst judge of reason and argument, and of a plain matter of fact, that ever scribbled on paper. Nay, I appeal to all the world, whether the whole business of this famous revolution, from whence nevertheless we have derived so many national blessings, ought not to be looked upon as a vile usurpation, and be chargeable with the guilt of robbing the good people of England, of Ireland, and of all the colonies, of their unalienable rights, if Mr. Locke's principles of government are the only true and just ones. But I ask further, was the convention itself unanimous in its decisions ? No, very far from it. On the contrary it is a well known fact, that the members of it, (I mean a majority of the members,) would never have voted the crown to the Prince of Orange, had it not been for his threatening message, that he would leave them to the resentment of King James, unless they complied with such a demand. So that even a majority of this very convention would have acted otherwise than they did, had they remained unawed, and uninfluenced. And thus, reader, it is demonstrated to thee, that this famous convention, and in them the whole nation, was self-governed, and self-directed, according to the Lockian principle, in establishing this glorious revolution.\*

The demonstration is complete, without the aid of King William's message ; yet it *may*, perhaps, be strengthened by consi-

\* See some very pertinent remarks on Locke, and the Revolution, in the third chapter of the History of the Revolution by George Moore, one of Sir James Mackintosh's correspondents.

dering how very unlike the convention parliament was to the complete representation of all the people, (even of England,) which is required by the theory of Locke!

We should have expected to see in a history of political theories, some reference to the declaration of the rights of man, which accompanied the French revolution. This celebrated document (An. Reg. 1789, p. 232) embodied the principles of Locke, excluding, however, whether as reality or fiction, the *original contract*, and its necessary consequences; it asserted the right of *universal suffrage*, but recognized the principle of *representation*; and, apparently, of the decision by *majorities*. Much of it is harmless, and even consistent with the English constitution and practice; it enumerates *property* among the rights of man; it contemplated a law for punishing the licentiousness of the press; and the assertion of general equality, and condemnation of useless distinctions, are so vague as to be reconcileable with a monarchy and a peerage.

As we are not writing a history of the French revolution, we shall not relate how these "ambiguous words, dispersed among the common people," were soon construed, or what tyranny and oppression this manifesto of freedom produced, or what respect was paid to the right of property so recently and philosophically sanctioned.

In England, the French revolution emboldened those who, during the American contest, had preserved some moderation. Our revolution of 1688 was now said to have proceeded upon the same principles which produced the revolution in France; and the doctrines of Locke, and more, if possible, than the doctrines of Locke were now claimed as part of the British Constitution. The sermon in which this was done by Dr. Price,\* and the congratulations offered to the French Assembly by a society commemorative of our Revolution, were among the chief inducements to the still celebrated *Reflexions* of Mr. Burke.

These reflexions were too little systematic to afford us much quotation on the theory of Government; indeed it was the just decision of this great writer, not now taken up, but equally to be found in his former publications already noticed, that government could not be reduced to theory and system.† He took the Constitution of his country as he found it, content to live under

\* Discourse on the Love of our Country, 4th Nov. 1789. Although it does not immediately concern our inquiry, we cannot help pointing out one of the principles said by this learned divine to have been established at the Revolution. *The right to liberty of conscience in religious matters*; he should have said, *among Protestants*.

† See p. 320, ante.

it, so long as it should answer practically the purposes of a Constitution. It is only because our subject compels us to deal in theories, that we make no larger use of Burke.

Burke was answered by a Theorist indeed, but still one who was prepared violently to reduce his theories to practice, rather than affect to believe that they had their sanction in the English form of government. *Paine's Rights of Man* rejected all but written Constitutions, agreed upon by a whole nation; denied accordingly that the English had any government at all, and contended for the universal Sovereignty of "the nation" *for the time being*: in what way the accession of new men to the community, with all their rights about them, by birth, or coming to years of discretion, was to affect the identity of the Sovereign Nation, so as to annul the inherited Constitution, Mr. Paine has not determined. For one admission in particular, Paine's work is remarkable; the revolt of the French, he tells us, was not against men, but *principles*.

There is assuredly one great difference between Locke and Paine. Locke had wrought himself up to the notion of an original contract, by which a whole nation had bound itself, upon certain terms, to an hereditary King; Paine rejected Kings, and all hereditary rights. Upon his own principles, Locke should have condemned them too; for how is an hereditary right to be matter of consent by the successive inhabitants of a country? We therefore do not except this, when we say, that there is not one of the extravagances of Paine, or other modern theorists, which cause to Professor Heeren so much of apprehension for the monarchical principle, which may not be traced in the work of Locke, whom he imagines to be the champion of the English Constitution, and the instructor of English politicians.

Most erroneously then is it said by our author—"The doctrines of Locke had, for the most part, been already applied in England, and only had the effect of supplying other countries with philosophical reasons for that attachment to the British Constitution which had become almost universal throughout Europe previously to the late (French) revolution."—(p. 178.) It is probable enough that English travellers, when asked where the principles of their Constitution were to be found, would refer to the works of Locke;—without having either read the works of Locke, or studied the English Constitution. No man who had compared the two, could hold, that either in its ordinary operation, or in the great exception of 1688, the principles of Locke were followed.

Between Locke and Rousseau, Heeren draws a broad line of distinction; in Rousseau's *dictum* that the sovereignty of the

people is neither to be delegated nor transferred ; and he considers Rousseau's maxim as the cause of all the late revolutions in Europe. We think the professor wrong. It has already been shown, that the maxim of the Genevese philosopher *could* only be applied to his own little republic ; the Sovereignty which the French people asserted, was the transferable and deputable Sovereignty of *Locke*.

But the political notion in which Heeren sees the greatest danger, is Rousseau's belief that the Sovereignty of the people may be associated with Monarchy.

If it is Heeren's meaning, that where a chamber is constituted upon the principle of complete and general representation as a matter of right, it is incompatible with the exercise of a *veto*, or of any substantial power on the part of a king, the position is undoubtedly true. The principle of such a representation, so based upon the equal rights of man, is assuredly violated, if either a king, or a second chamber constituted upon any different principle, has the power of negativing the decisions of the House of Representatives. It is only by the fiction of an original contract, whereby the sovereign people have not only delegated their power to a majority of select representatives, but have consented that those representatives shall be controlled by other bodies or individuals, that this principle of the sovereignty of the people (which is not more that of Rousseau than of *Locke*,) can be reconciled with a limited Monarchy, or a mixed Government of any sort. As it is certain that this contract, and delegation to representatives and majorities, never was made, still less continually renewed, there can be no lawful government, according to *Locke* and his followers, unless all decisions are made by the whole people, male and female, without one dissentient voice. This sovereignty of the people, is not only incompatible with Monarchy, but is in itself utterly incapable of being reduced to practice.

Heeren therefore, writing at a time when the constitutions of almost every state in Europe had been brought into question, and the expectation of *free constitutions* had been held out especially to the several states of *Germany*, was justified in observing—" We have no longer to consider mere speculation and theory ; the question that concerns us is one of fearful practical importance."—p. 182. The introduction of a new principle into a government is undoubtedly a difficult and dangerous task. And we can estimate this danger, with experience more recent than Heeren's work.

*His apprehension is, that Europe would be filled " either with monarchical republics, or with republics under the name of*

monarchies. He gives no general preference either to a republic or to a monarchy,—

“It is possible to live happily or unhappily under either, according to the turn which events may take. But we may be sure that a nation (*with individuals we have nothing to do*) can never be happy in a pseudo-monarchy or a pseudo-republic, because such a form of government is contradictory to itself. The history of Poland, as it was, affords at once a warning, and an example.\* We wish therefore for *actual* monarchies, or *actual* republics.”

Observing then that the European political system has been for centuries monarchical, and that all the principal states were really monarchies, he concludes that nothing but a violent revolution “could be supposed capable of changing this character into its opposite.”

The essential distinction of a *monarchy*, he finds, in *the possession of the sovereignty or chief power by the prince*; while in a republic it resides in the people. According to this view, it would appear that the transfer of any part of the absolute sovereignty to the people, in any shape, would destroy the monarchical character of any European state.

We cannot agree with Heeren. Rejecting equally Filmer and Locke, we hold that a nation may be very happy and prosperous, which shall either inherit from ancestors, or constitute by amicable agreement between prince and people, a government, in which power is shared unequally by the several orders of the state, decided according to birth, property, or other even less definite circumstances; even although this government may be nick-named a *pseudo-monarchy*, or a *pseudo-republic*; being something between the two.

And Heeren himself, when he comes to details, appears to be of this opinion. For in proceeding through several pages to describe a monarchy, with such limitations as he thinks *consistent with the monarchical principle*, he describes, almost exactly, the British Constitution. He is satisfied with the inviolability of the king, his power of convoking and dissolving the chambers, his absolute veto upon their decrees, his unqualified right to choose his own ministers, and his necessary participation in all affairs of the state. He admits that, in England, all his conditions are fulfilled, and the rights of the prince maintained, without infringing the liberties of the nation.

The chambers to which our professor here refers, as having

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\* The elective Throne, and the *liberum veto*, of the old Polish Constitution, are peculiarities which allow us to reject Poland.

preserved in England a just balance of powers and interests, are the old House of Commons and the House of Lords, in unquestioned possession of its share in the legislature. But, neither when he cites the example of England, nor when he states his own views of propriety, is Heeren sufficiently precise in describing the mode in which the chambers are to be formed; though that is in fact the most interesting point upon which the character of the constitution depends. "We understand," he says, "that both the chambers, or at least one of them, is to consist of *deputies chosen by the people*."

*What is the people*, and how are the deputies to be chosen? Nothing can be less true, than that the English constitution answers these questions according to Locke.

No man will now say that those doctrines were embodied in the system lately superseded; nor are they to be found in that under which parliaments are now elected.

Whatever may be said out of doors, the extreme doctrines of Locke have been repudiated among those whose opinions have hitherto prevailed in the legislature. Universal suffrage is disallowed, and thus the principle of the universal rights of man is discarded; it is admitted that the right of election must be limited, so as to exclude the lower classes. No such limitation is allowed by Locke. But, granting for a moment that the exclusion of certain classes is allowable, we will assume that the line has been accurately drawn, and the test of property and intelligence which qualifies a man for an elector fairly and correctly chosen. But this line is not drawn, nor is this test applied, to the whole empire, nor even to the whole of *England*. There is no extent of property or possession which, from its extent merely, entitles a man to a vote.\*

It was no doubt of the *old* English Constitution that Heeren wrote; but we give him the advantage of that now in force,

\* A man might be qualified to hold a high station in the king's councils, and yet have no representative in the House of Commons. A man may be the largest fund-holder in England, he may reside in the finest house in London, and yet have no vote for a member of parliament.

A man may carry on a trade or manufacture in a certain town, may inhabit a house of a given yearly value, and have a vote for a member of parliament. Another who has been bred in the same school, in the same class, at the same time, and profited by it exactly to the same extent, may carry on the same trade, in a house exactly similar in size, rent, and all other circumstances, in a town of precisely equal population, in the same county, may keep the same establishment, and pay the same taxes, direct and indirect, and yet have no vote.

The first of our cases is not merely a conjectural case; and this is one of constant occurrence. Again, the town may be supposed to be three times as large and populous as that in which the supposed trader resides and votes, the trade may be three times as extensive, the taxes paid three times as much, and yet not one man in the town shall have a vote.

which at least *attempts* a nearer approach to the theory of government. Neither the reformed, nor the ancient Constitution, can stand in argument for one moment, without the aid of all these considerations, so hateful to theoretical writers, of working well in practice, *virtually* representing the people, collecting, by modes irregular, a set of members fit to legislate. Nay, the one as well as the other, must have recourse also to ancient usage,—to peculiar, chartered privileges.\*

It is not less true now than when Heeren wrote, that in the country of Locke there is not a direct, but a virtual representation of the people.†

We would here observe, that those, who, holding that the wishes of the people are to be followed, support an *incomplete* representation, must hold, either that the opinions of the represented *necessarily* include those of the unrepresented, or that the unrepresented ought not to be represented. Now, if the line of distinction between these two classes is drawn (as it is assuredly *not* drawn in England) upon correct principles in reference to property or intelligence, the exclusion may be justifiable and wise, but it is not according to Locke.

But it is not only true, that Locke's theory has not been realized in England; Locke has not shown that it can be realized anywhere. He has spoken freely and familiarly of *representation*, without laying down the principles upon which representation ought to be founded, so as to collect the opinion of even the *majority*; a word, therefore, upon representation, and majority.

The most simple mode of ascertaining the opinion of a majority (applicable, however, only to a small state,‡) appears to be the election of the whole body of representatives by the whole body of electors; this would express the opinions of the majority, without giving even a hearing in the legislature to the minority. But a more practicable, and perhaps equally simple form is, the division of the electoral body into equal constituencies, each re-

\* For the householders of the towns which enjoy that special favour of electing members, which from other towns of equal or superior importance is withdrawn, possess it, simply and solely, because in some instances *they*, in more perhaps some other class having another sort of connexion with the town, had enjoyed the privilege for four hundred years, under a grant from the crown, and the consequence undoubtedly is, that the same number of members is sometimes sent to parliament, by two hundred, as by twelve thousand electors; and that of persons possessing *test of property*, which the new system requires, *one-third* (perhaps a larger proportion) is disqualified.

† An American thus speaks of the inconsistencies which beset a man who abandons *things as they are*, and yet proposes to carry fresh principles into incomplete effect:—“A moderate reformer can give no answer, he can neither plead tradition, nor the rule of three. He goes at once against the genius of the British constitution, and the four rules of arithmetic. He can stand neither upon Lord Coke, nor Cocker; the *jus parliamentarium*, nor the multiplication table.”—*North American Review*, xxiv. 172.

‡ It is thus with the Scotch peerage.

turning one representative. Under this plan there is no doubt, the minority of the collective body of electors may have a share in the chamber. But neither is there any doubt but that the minority of constituents *may* return the majority of members. This majority of members must necessarily be returned by the greater number of constituencies; but it may be returned by a bare majority, in each of those constituencies; and the minority in that greater number of constituencies, may hold the same opinions with the majority, (or possibly the whole body,) in the smaller number, and thus constitute a majority of constituents, returning nevertheless a minority of members.

Supposing, therefore, a chamber to be dissolved with the view of collecting the sense of the people upon a particular measure, the election, even in this simple and arithmetical form, may give effect and power to the sense of the *smaller* number.\* If the constituencies be (as is more frequently the case) unequal in their own numbers, and return an unequal number of members, the calculation will be more complicated, but the result will be equally contrary to the principle and intention of the institution.† And then too come in *compromises*, the effect of which may be, to give to the minority an equal weight with the majority.

The deficiency of the representative system (we speak *generally*) will strike the mind still more forcibly, when there are more than two sets of opinions to be collected. Let us suppose that while many of the people approve of the measure, and many oppose it, there are also many who would carry it a great deal

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\* Suppose the electors to be altogether 1,000,000, divided into 500 constituencies of 2000 each.

In 251 of these, <i>supporters</i> are returned by a bare majority, namely, 1; now .....	1001 × 251 = ..... 251,251
In 249 constituencies, <i>opponents</i> are returned unanimously .....	249 × 2000 = 498,000
Then the unsuccessful opponents in the majority of constituencies are .....	251 × 999 = 250,749
	748,749
	1,000,000

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In this case, 748,749, being very nearly three-fourths of the whole, will be *against* the measure, and a little more than one-fourth *for* it, and it will be carried, according to the true and philosophical principles of representation. The bare majority in one set of constituencies, and the unanimity in the other, assume an extreme case; but the numbers may be greatly altered without affecting the result.

† For a very apt exposition of the anomalies inherent in a representative system, as connected especially with the plurality of votes given to each elector, where more than one member is to be returned, we refer to Mr. Praed's speech in the House of Commons, on the 14th of August, 1831, Purl. Deb. V. 1439. The tyranny of the majority was never more recklessly exercised than in leaving this speech almost without an attempted answer.

further. Let there be supporters, opponents, and *extenders*; every one set having a candidate at a supposed election. Each set wishes for its own man, and votes for him; but the opponent would much prefer the supporter to the extender, and if he could tell that by voting for the opponent he would in fact bring in an *extender*, he would rather have given his suffrage to the supporter.\* From the multiplication of such cases, it may happen that in no one constituency has the successful candidate an absolute majority. But no elective system provides sufficiently for the case of *second preference*,† (if we may so term it,) though there are laws of election (not in England) where an absolute majority is required.

While we thus observe upon the inadequate means by which it is attempted to ascertain the opinions of the majority, we do not admit that the absolute power of a majority is consistent with natural right.‡ But, admitting that the majority must have the predominance, some writers have held that the minority ought, nevertheless, to be *represented*, and have found a difficulty in effecting this, without giving to the smaller number, what it certainly ought not to have, equal weight with the majority, and it

\* Let the supporters be supposed to be 650, the opponents 600, and the extenders 750. The extenders will come in, though it may be that all the others, (or it is quite enough, a sufficient number of them,) would have joined against him, if they had foreseen the result. This difficulty is susceptible of infinite extension, as we suppose additional shades of opinion.

† We have known the following method adopted where the question was, which of six days in the week should be chosen for a board day. Would it answer for political elections? Each member wrote down the six days in the order in which he preferred them. The first day in each list told for six, and so down to one. And the day having most numbers was chosen. A day might have been first in the majority of the lists, and still not chosen. Of nine lists, five might have Monday at the head, reckoned at  $5 \times 6 = 30$ . Seven might have Tuesday second,  $7 \times 5 = 35$ .

‡ "We are so little affected by things which are habitual, that we consider this idea of the decision of a majority, as if it were a law of our original nature; but such constructive whole, residing in a part only, is one of the most violent fictions of positive law that ever has been or can be made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil society nature knows nothing of it," [except, Mr. Burke might have said, as the law of the strongest]; "nor are men, when arranged according to civil order, otherwise than by very long training, brought at all to submit to it. The mind is brought far more easily to acquiesce in the proceedings of one man, a few, who act under a general procuration for the state, than in the vote of a victorious majority in councils, in which every man has his share in the deliberation. For then the beaten party are exasperated and soured by the previous contention, and mortised by the conclusive defeat. This mode of decision, when wills may be so nearly equal, where, according to circumstances, the smaller number may be the stronger force, and where apparent reason may be all on one side, and on the other little else but impetuous appetite, all this must be the result of a particular and special convention, confirmed afterwards by long habits of obedience, by sort of discipline in society, and by a strong hand, vested with stationary, permanent power, to enforce this sort of constructive general will. What organ it is that shall declare the corporate mind is so much a matter of positive arrangement, that several states, for the validity of several of their

has been successfully argued,\* that where there are more than two members to one constituency, the nearest approach to right will be in allowing each elector to vote for two only.†

We know not whether we have met with the idea before, but perhaps the most accurate mode of representation would be to have no *local* privileges; but, supposing the million of electors to have five hundred representatives, to let any body of two thousand electors, self-associated, and united in favour of one candidate, have the right of returning that candidate by unanimous vote. We are not prepared to suggest this plan for practical adoption, but it really strikes us as the fairest mode of *representing* a people, whose numbers alone deprive them of personal participation in the legislature.

In taking leave of the principle of representation, we will just request our readers to imagine an election where there are three or four candidates, of whom two are to be returned. A. B. votes for the unsuccessful man; but the votes are so divided, that neither of the successful men has an absolute majority. It is proposed in the Chamber to impose a tax. These two members vote against it, but are beaten by a majority. And A. B., according to Lord Chatham, is taxed *with his own consent!*

We have no time for the question between universal and limited suffrage, or for the principle of limitation, and nothing in Heeren makes it necessary to discuss them. In proceeding then to his remarks upon a second, or upper Chamber, as a part of a constitutional monarchy, we assume it as established, that no perfect representation of the will or opinion, either of a whole people, or of any portion of a people selected for fitness, has hitherto been devised,—certainly none exists in England.

Professor Heeren (p. 187) overlooks one of the principal grounds, upon which a second Chamber more highly qualified, and less dependent upon the people than the first, is recommended. He contemplates such a chamber merely as a support

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acts have required a proportion of voices much greater than that of a mere majority. These cases are so entirely governed by convention, that in some cases a *minority* decides; the laws, in many countries, to *condemn* require more than a mere majority; less than an equal number to *acquit*. In our judicial trials we require unanimity either to condemn or to absolve. In some incorporations one man speaks for the whole; in others, a few. Until the other day, in the Constitution of Poland, *unanimity* was required to give validity to any act of their great national Council or Diet. *This approaches much more nearly to rude nature than the constitution of any other country.*”—Burke's *Appeal*. It might have been added, that some self-constituted societies require more than a mere majority for particular acts, such as the disposal of money. And a distinction might fairly be drawn, even in the matter of right, between questions which must *necessarily* be decided one way or the other, and those which may, without general injury, rest in abeyance.

\* Praed.

† Where there are only two, if each has only one vote, a minority, however small, would return one member, and have equal weight, in the Chamber, with the majority.

to the *Throne*, and observes, that it has sometimes been otherwise. Now, one important reason upon which, *whether historically or philosophically*, we argue for the maintenance of an Upper Chamber\* is this—that by controlling the popular Representatives, it counteracts or mitigates the acknowledged evils of Democracy,† and that it represents and invests with a power, out of proportion to their mere numbers, the more highly educated and richer classes of the community, especially those connected with the lands.

The principle of an Aristocracy, with an additional power as such, is admitted, the moment we reject universal suffrage; and even if, by a very bold fiction, we confine to householders, or other selected classes, the natural *rights of man*, it is clear that we cannot rely upon those rights, unless the representation of those who possess them is pure and perfect. The question then of an Upper Chamber is, under actual circumstances, one of expediency, and of degree. Will you be content that all public affairs, foreign and domestic, shall be regulated by your electors, *told by the head*, or, will you give any and what power, and in what form, to the upper classes?‡

In almost all national Constitutions, even in those of most recent adoption, two Chambers, and only two Chambers, have been adopted, and an imitation in some sort, of King, Lords and Commons, has become, almost as it were, the *natural* form of a Constitution,—in the way in which, as was said some years ago in the House of Commons by a county member, “*Five per cent. is the natural interest of money.*” Bolivar is, so far as we know, the first legislator who, admitting of more than one Chamber, disclaimed this servile imitation, and constituted three Chambers in his little republic of Bolivia.§

\* By Upper Chamber we mean always, one which sits either by hereditary right, the choice of the crown, or by a higher property qualification.

† “If the mere popular Assembly is sometimes led away, as it is natural it should, by sudden impressions or temporary clamour, this hereditary senate may interpose its grave and thoughtful opinions, to suspend the effect of an intemperate vote.”—*Lord John Russell on the English Government*, 1823, p. 153.—“That government,” he adds, “which some paradoxical men have had the conceit to undervalue.”

‡ These terms of distinction between the several classes of the community are very indefinite. By upper classes, we mean here, not only the nobility, in the confined sense in which that word is used in England, but in addition, the country gentlemen, superior clergy, and persons of old family, even though of little property; the more considerable merchants, and highly educated artists, or men of letters.

§ “The legislative body is so composed as necessarily to be harmonious in its different parts. It will never be found divided for want of an arbitrating judge, which frequently happens where there are only two Chambers. There being three here provided, any disagreement between two of them is decided by the intervention of the third. And a question, investigated and examined by two contending parties, finds a third impartial one to settle it. By this means, no useful law is put aside, or until it

But in most cases, and even where the republican spirit has been most predominant, there is, in addition to the House of Representatives, an Upper Chamber, of which the members are in some way or other more elevated above the mass of the people, or more disconnected from them. Sometimes there is a higher qualification in property,\* sometimes an hereditary right, sometimes a nomination by the Crown, sometimes an appointment or election for life, sometimes an election by two degrees—a form to which we have had no time to advert, but to which we are much inclined.†

It is quite another question whether, in framing a Constitution for a country which has hitherto been without one, a house of nobles, after our model, is precisely the best to be adopted. We are disposed to think, that where there is an hereditary Crown, it will always be safer when there is also an hereditary nobility; that where family honours and estates are customarily subject to the law of primogeniture, the holders of these honours and estates ought to constitute a great portion of the Upper Chamber; but the pursuit of this topic would require a chapter on the necessity or advantage of a considerable inequality of conditions, for which we have no space. As to England, it is enough that the House of Lords is an ancient part of the Constitution, and that it does in fact perform the functions of an Upper Chamber. And, cer-

has undergone one, two, or three votings, prior to its rejection. . . . Modern Congresses, I shall be told, are composed of only two bodies. It is because in England, which country has been taken as a model, the nobility and the people are represented in two Houses, and if the same course has been followed by North America, where there is no nobility, we must suppose that the habit of living under the English government induced the imitation. The fact is, that two deliberative bodies must be in perpetual conflict, and for this reason Sieyes proposed to have only one. Strange absurdity."—*Bolivar's Address*, May 25th, 1826. [State Papers, 1825-6, p. 863.]—We do not know on what ground Bolivar expected *impartiality* in the third Chamber, nor how his Constitution worked. The qualification for the several Chambers appears to have differed chiefly as to age.

\* As to the representation of property, hear a former President of the United States.—"We have hitherto proceeded upon the idea that Representation related to *persons* only, and not at all to property. But is it a just idea? Government is instituted no less for protection of the property than of the persons of individuals. The one, as well as the other, may be considered as represented by those who are charged with the government. Upon this principle it is, that in several of the states, and particularly in the State of New York, *one branch of the government is intended more especially to be the guardian of property, and is accordingly elected by that part of the society which is most interested in this object of government.*" And then he argues, "that a richer state has not the opportunity of influence which a richer individual has, (an admission sanctioning the influence of property), regard always to be paid to wealth (as well as numbers,) in fixing the number of representatives for each state."—*Federalist*, No. 54, by James Madison.

† We go no further into the details of the various Constitutions that are before us, because it is probable that some new publications will give us the opportunity of considering the subject practically.

tainly, if Heeren was justified when he wrote, in deeming the House of Lords an admirable part of the British Constitution, its utility is more undeniable, now that the other House of Parliament has become more popular.

Under the old constitution of England, the superior influence of the upper classes was, in most cases, operative in the House of Commons ; there was enough of popular election to ensure an effectual hearing of the voice of the middle classes, in any case in which they were strongly excited ; and there was, not always, but usually, enough of aristocratic election or nomination, to prevent the too rapidly formed *opinion* of the *public* from bringing about rash measures, or effecting violent changes. This aristocratic influence did not operate through the small boroughs only ; it belonged in great part to the county members, or such of them as were returned principally by the rural districts, and who owed their election (except in times of great excitement), more to the confidence reposed in them personally, to their families, and influence as landholders, than to the peculiar political opinions of their constituents. These members were, eminently, the representatives of the gentlemen of England, honest, independent, straightforward men ; and moreover, of late years, educated and refined in a degree, which, no less than their permanent interest in the soil, gave them fair claims to a larger share of power, than their mere numbers allowed.

The framers of the new constitution have in some sort admitted these claims, under the head of " the legitimate influence of property ;" but this description is not complete. It would answer, if these county members owed their election to a direct influence exercised over the electors ; whereas the truth is, that excepting in some particular counties, (and sometimes elsewhere at a time of popular delusion), the great land-proprietor could not obtain his election, without the aid of the other, generally smaller, proprietors, who are spread throughout the district ;\* of whom they are, therefore (as we have said), evidently the representatives ; being however, at the same time, the representatives also of the most numerous constituencies.

And yet, although the new constitution has augmented the number of county members, and although they are now more united than they were, perhaps, at any former period, and have with them nearly the whole of the most enlightened clergy in the world, they have not a preponderating share in the Legislature. Thanks however to the neglect of the doctrines of Locke, and to those anomalies in the Reform Act which we have exposed,

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\* Let this be considered in reference to the plan of an election by two degrees.

the legitimate influence of this body is great in the House of Commons. All those interests which are thus in the House of Commons in a bare minority, possess in our Upper Chamber a vast majority.

And if an upper chamber be admissible in a constitution, can it possibly perform its functions more admirably, than when it modifies and mitigates measures effecting great and irrevocable changes, passed in the other house by a bare majority, against the minority representing the gentry of England, or when it gives that house an opportunity of re-considering such measures ; and even finally rejects such as are unfit to be forced on the nation by a bare superiority of numbers ?

Surely there can be no time in which it is less necessary to bring this ancient institution into question, than one in which it represents generally the opinions of *almost* a moiety of the popular representatives, and the same at least, if not a majority, of the popular electors ; and a very large, almost overwhelming, majority of the upper classes, so much so, that if the Lords were replaced by an *elective* Chamber, chosen by gentlemen of moderate incomes, it is almost certain that the votes of that Chamber would be such as they now are,—if not even less in unison with those of the representatives of the people.

It is not in our power to describe with the accuracy without which we are unwilling to attempt it, the alterations which have been made, since Heeren wrote, in the Constitutions of the several states of Germany. We believe that they have all borrowed something from the Constitution of England, and they have all attempted to reconcile the growing spirit of Democracy with "the monarchical principle." We are among those who pray, that that spirit may still be tempered, as in England, by monarchy and aristocracy ; and all that we have lately heard of the most extensive and unmitigated democracy that is to be found among established governments, confirms us in our wish that we may not become entirely democratic. We have already noticed (vol. xv. p. 470,) the work of Tocqueville, who has applied to the consideration of Democracy in America a judgment singularly calm and impartial. His recommendation of Democracy may be summed up in one short sentence, in which he says that, "if the laws of Democracy are not always *respectable*, they are almost always *respected*." (vol. ii. p. 123.) When people are satisfied, or persuaded, that the measures of Government emanate from their own opinions and wills they are satisfied with them, though they may be, and perhaps for that reason the more, unwise or unjust.

This consideration generates a very difficult question for a practical and conscientious statesman ; how to steer between the

right and the expedient? How far to give way to the public opinion of the moment, when he believes that its effects will be permanently injurious? Certainly, to us Englishmen, this advantage of having laws "respected though not respectable" appears too dearly purchased. Tocqueville gives one instance of this want of respectability; in the unwillingness of the House of Representatives to punish fraudulent bankrupts, *because* fraudulent bankruptcies are frequent; and he describes the tyranny of the majority\* certainly exceeding any that an European King could exercise. This book affords an excellent commentary upon Locke; and may, perhaps, reconcile the framers of constitutions in Germany, as it has us, to that aristocracy which the same author describes (p. 104), in a phrase eminently applicable to our House of Lords, as "a firm and enlightened man, who never dies."

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ART. VII.—*Floresta de Rimas Modernas Castellanas; o Poesias Selectas Castellanas desde el tiempo de Ignacio de Luzan hasta nuestros días, con una Introducción histórica, y con Noticias biográficas y críticas, recogidas y ordenadas, por Fernando José Wolf, Secretario de la Biblioteca Imperial de Viena.* 2 tom. 8vo., 1837. Paris y Viena.

THESE volumes cannot but form a welcome addition to the library of every lover of Spanish poetry. They supply well-selected specimens of all the writers who have distinguished themselves in the realms of poetry from the commencement of the eighteenth century down to the present day; and the value of the work is considerably enhanced by the biographical and critical sketches which accompany the specimens.

The period in the history of Spanish literature which the learned editor has fixed upon to commence his labours, is one of considerable importance, and one at which a great change began to operate, both in the form and spirit of the national poetry. It is the moment when Ignacio de Luzan, far from being discouraged by the failure of the attempts made by the Marques de San Juan to introduce into his country the poetical doctrines of the French school, as exemplified in Corneille's tragedy of *Cinna*, endeavoured, by the publication of his *Poetica* in 1737, to infuse new vigour into the listless veins of the Spanish muse, and to awaken his countrymen to a knowledge of those poetic laws which had received the authority of Aristotle, Horace, and

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\* See the notice of this part of Tocqueville in Sir Robert Peel's speech at Glasgow, Jan. 13th, 1837.

Boileau. Not content with insisting upon the necessity of obeying the dictates of these great masters of the critical art, Luzan determined himself to practise the doctrines he advocated; and in this he was readily assisted by many of his friends. In the year 1749 a poetical society was instituted in Madrid, under the name of *Buen Gusto*, over which the Condesa de Lemos presided; and which numbered among its members, besides many other men of talent, the Count Torrepalma, Augustin Montiano, Ignacio de Luzan, José Porcel, and Luis Velasquez. Of these members of the academy "del *Buen Gusto*," Torrepalma distinguished himself by his poem of *Deucalion*, written in the style of Ovid; Montiano by his two tragedies, *Virginia* and *Ataulfo*;—José Porcel by his *Eglugas Venatorias*, much applauded at the time, but which have never been published; and finally Luzan himself, by some translations and lyrical compositions. But neither the doctrines nor the example of these members of the society for the promotion of poetry exercised any beneficial influence upon the national taste; and lamentable indeed is the state of degradation into which its poetical literature had fallen at the close of the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, as described by no less competent an authority than Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin. In fact, the only composition of distinguished merit which appeared during the first half of the eighteenth century, was the *Satira contra los malos escritores de su tiempo*, in which, with much wit and elegance, Jorge Pitillas vented his indignation at the miserable condition of the literature of his native country. This poem, the only production of its clever and patriotic author known to exist, is reprinted in the present collection.

But the year 1737, which gave birth to Luzan's *Poetica*, (again forgotten in the year 1760), gave birth to one destined to exercise a more powerful and cheering influence over the poetical spirit of his countrymen. Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin, for he it was, living under far more favourable circumstances, and gifted with far greater poetical talents, contributed most effectually to the reformation of Castilian poetry, and to preparing the way for its regeneration. But the models which Moratin selected for his own study, and held up to the admiration of his countrymen, were derived from the banks of the Seine: they lacked the fire and energy that distinguished the national poetry of Spain, and substituted for those vigorous and characteristic charms, the more effeminate graces of neatness and elegance. These however were felt by some patriotic spirits of the day to be but inefficient substitutes for the absence of that spirit which had distinguished the earlier productions of their countrymen; and they wished to see the elegance of the classic school combined with

the energies of the old Spanish writers. Amongst the foremost who insisted upon this necessity, Vicente Garcia de la Huerta boldly stepped forward to resist the growing partiality for the French school, and recall his countrymen to a love of their own national and romantic style. But though reasonably gifted with poetic powers, and strong in the virtues of a good cause, Huerta was compelled to give up the field to his more numerous, though not more skilful adversaries. The classicists triumphed for a time, but their triumph was short;—the diviner spirit was wanting, for the poetical, like all other institutions of one country, languishes and deteriorates, exaggerating only its original imperfections, when transplanted to a foreign soil: and thus the poetry of Spain remained but a poor reflex of that of France, containing no elements of vitality, and destined once more to fall into a state of inanition.

But while Huerta and the advocates of the French style were engaged in this combat of opinions, in Salamanca was gradually forming a native school, which inculcated the doctrine that the first principles of their national poetry must necessarily be derived from their own ancient writers: and at the head of this school eventually appeared Juan Melendez Valdes. In 1785 Melendez published the first volume of his poetical works, displaying the result of his studies into the national forms of his country's popular song. It was received with loud and general applause; and the lovers of the early literature of Spain, who saw how successfully he had followed the footsteps of Garcilasso, Leon, and Herrera, did not hesitate to proclaim him the restorer of the muse of Castile. He was certainly the founder of a new school, not less imitative than that of Luzan and Moratin, but nevertheless based on national models, and national therefore in its form—it was, in short, a new school of Spanish poetry.

But though this was the prevailing, it was by no means the only system of the time. Other writers sought for models among the poets of Italy, whose works display, in their outward forms at least, considerable resemblance to those of Spain. Among those who may be said to have adopted the Italians as their models are Leandro Fernandez de Moratin, Juan Bautista de Arriaza, Manuel de Arjona, and Francisco Martinez de la Rosa.

The works of Melendez and his followers, however, prepared the minds of their countrymen to receive and esteem the doctrines of the new, or, as it is more frequently styled, the romantic school of poetry; which, rejecting the frigid dogmas and enslaving laws of the classicists, holds up to the admiration and imitation of the world the glorious creations of Homer, Shakspeare, Dante, Lope de Vega, and Schiller. This taste is rapidly deve-

loping itself in the literary circles of Spain, and, among those who have served most effectually to disseminate its beneficial principles among their countrymen, Augustin Durand, and Angel de Saavedra Duke de Rivas, should be especially noticed: the former by his essay "On the Influence which Modern Criticism has exercised in the Downfall of the Ancient Spanish Theatre;" by his "Trovas;" and his excellent editions of the "Romanceros," and of the "Talea Espanola, o Coleccion de Dramas del Antiguo Teatro Espanol;" and the latter no less effectually by his own poetical works which have appeared of late years.

To illustrate the various phases of Spanish poetry since the commencement of the preceding century, is the purpose of these volumes, of which we now take our leave; first rendering our best thanks to Dr. Wolf for the good taste and industry displayed in every page, and earnestly commending them to the student of Spanish poetry, as a storehouse in which he will find many productions of the Spanish muse not readily to be met with elsewhere, and so arranged as to exhibit a perfect view of the progress of that branch of the national literature from the era of Luzan to our own days. The volumes may be said indeed to form an indispensable companion to the "Floresta de Rimas Antiguas" of Don Juan Nicolas Bohl de Faber.

We must commence however the more useful labour of translation from our few extracts, which are offered with all due diffidence, beginning with one from Luzan's *Lines to the Academia de las Nobles Artes*.

Its ever varying sway  
 Inconstant fate exerts o'er all.  
 Born subject to successive fall  
 Each earthly state!—Fleeting the ancient glory  
 Of early Greece and Rome's immortal name:  
 Ruins whose grandeur yet survives in story,  
 And treasured fondly still by long-recording fame.  
 Even at the touch of years that pass away,  
 Cities and empires crumble to decay!—  
 Virtue sole remains;—  
 Fair Daughter of the Mighty, in whose mind  
 Perfection of all goodness rests enshrin'd;—  
 And, changeless still, her steadfastness maintains.  
 How vainly Chance  
 With desperate wrath that peaceful reign would mar;  
 So 'gainst the rock 'midst raging ocean stance  
 In idle war the headlong waves advance;  
 While, as th' unvarying star  
 That to the trembling pilot points his course,  
 Though Aquilo and Notus try their force,  
 She guides our wandering bark to sheltering havens far.

We take another specimen from this Poetical Address, and again see his genius sinking under the prevailing and imbecile torpor of the age.

Light and mingling shade  
 Being and birth on *Painting* first bestowed :  
 Beneath her hand the varying colours glowed,  
 And fair *Design* in long *Perspective* showed.  
 Touch alone could tell,  
 In the warm tablets' flowing lines, enwrought  
 With brightest hues, from living nature caught,  
 How deeply treasured there deception's spell !  
 All that the eyes surveyed,  
 All that Imagination's power could trace,  
 Breathed in the Pencil's imitative grace :  
 O'er the cold canvas Form, and Soul, and Feeling,  
 That wondrous art infused, with power of life ;  
 Pourtrayed each pulse, each passion's might revealing,  
 Sorrow, and joy, love, hatred, fear, and strife.  
 Though haply mute, th' eternal doubt upsprung,  
 Can such perfection be denied a tongue ?

We proceed to give a short extract from Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin's "Love and Honour," in imitation of the ancient ballads, but without either their pathos or energy.

By the lovely Belerifa  
 Was Benzayde well-beloved ;  
 He a Moor, discreet and gallant,  
 Few of years—of strength approved.  
 He too, proud at feast and revel  
 To display his cherished flame,  
 Brodered round his bright green mantle  
 With the ciphers of his dame.  
 Never from his lance he parted,  
 Never left the hostile field,  
 Till the forceful weapon quivered,  
 Piercing through the foeman's shield.  
 With his love in soft endearment,  
 Long a calm retreat he chose,  
 Nor from such prolonged enjoyment,  
 Ever weariness arose.  
 Twenty moons, in rapture fleeting,  
 Passed without a pause to move  
 Doubt that could divide their friendship,  
 Coldness to diminish love.  
 But they seek not now, nor meet not :  
 How could ever cause arise,  
 Thus unkindly to dissever  
 Hearts entwined by dearest ties !

We now offer two epigrams from Francisco Gregorio de Salas.

UPON SOME CANNON.

Of iron though these guns are made,  
More sweet than swan's their descent rings ;  
Truly suited to persuade ;  
The real Ciceros for kings.

THE PORTUGUESE.

Every Portuguese believes  
He is more than monarchs are :  
That all the earth his rule receives ;  
Himself the very God of War.  
That through all creation's length  
Laws imposed by him have gone ;  
He has more than Samson's strength,  
Is wiser far than Solomon.  
 Fool him to his heart's desire,  
Yield him all he can require,  
He is but the greater liar.

The grace and sweetness of Melendez Valdez afford an agreeable relief from the general vapidly, though we fear he must suffer much by our translation. He is, however, no way superior to his age.

' Thy glances, Love,  
Destruction prove :'  
Whether wandering free,  
Or fixed on me ;  
Or careless stray  
Or love display,  
Or scornful turn  
My griefs to spurn,  
' Thy glances, Love,  
Destruction prove.'  
\* \* \*

Time was, my fair one, when inspired  
By light of those celestial eyes,  
My fearless spirit but aspired  
In song to breathe its fondest sighs.  
How oft beheld the opening dawn  
My tearful kiss thy threshold stain :  
How oft dark night her veil has drawn  
O'er my blind grief, and thy disdain.  
'Tis past :—yet still my bosom knows  
Th' undying flame it nursed of yore ;  
Nor speaks not, though its doom be sealed.  
I fly ;—my heart more fiercely glows :  
Abjure ;—yet love thee but the more :  
And soul and sense to passion yield.

We turn from this laborious trifling, the labour and disgrace of a past century, to the loftier tone and inspiring grandeur of Jovellanos, one of the most distinguished of modern Spanish writers, and whose various attainments are displayed in his prose works, no less than in his poetry.

## TO THE SUN.

Great parent of the universe !  
 Bright ruler of the lucid day ;  
 Thou glorious Sun, whose influence  
   The endless swarms of life obey,  
   Drinking existence from thy ray !—  
 Thou, who from forth the opening womb  
   Of the fair dawning crystalline  
 Comest, radiant to thine Eastern shrine :  
   Pouring thy golden floods, in light  
   O'er humblest vale and proudest height ;  
   Whilst thy resplendent Car reveals  
   Its rolling, adamantine wheels,  
   That speed sublime, nor leave a trace  
   Through all the airy realms of space :  
   Welcome thy reign !  
   Thy morning beams  
   And crown of rays,  
 Whose glory never more decays ;  
 While every gladdening bosom feels the gleams  
   Of joy and peace again !  
   Dark-shading Night,  
 Parent of treasons, perfidies, and guile,  
   Flies from thy sight,  
 And far in deep abysses bides the while :  
   And lazy Sleep,  
 Her shadows, lying phantasms, and alarms,  
   A hateful train,  
 Melt into air ; and in their place the charms  
   Of lucid light and joy gay vigil keep ;  
 And peace and pleasure visit us again.

\*      \*      \*

An address to the Moon is not less magnificent ; though we would remark that this and the foregoing, by their juxta-position, subjects, and mode of treatment, recall the two admirable addresses of Ferdousi :—the first to the

Source of Creation !—Soul-exciting gem,  
 That givest to Day his glorious diadem !

And the second to the

Calm, silent Lamp of darkness and of night !

In both, however, the great Persian surpasses all European

competition; and it is singular that such poetry should be unknown even in England. We trust shortly to offer to our readers ample specimens from his works confirmatory of our opinion, but have no room for them here, and must content our Spanish specimens to a few short extracts now; the first, from Leandro Fernandez Moratin, of little value but to show the general mediocrity of writers of this sonneteering class.

On the eighth night the voice had died  
 Of that prolonged, ensanguined strife;  
 The Gothic camp in flames supplied  
 A torch to view the fearful sight.  
 Then Roderick left the fatal heath,  
 Through devious paths unknown he fled,  
 And when Orelia sank in death  
 Still worn and faint the monarch fled.  
 Not Guadalete's rapid wave  
 Could stay his flight, who knew the dread  
 Of captive chains and conquering wrong;  
 In vain his arms the torrent brave,  
 His body sleeps beneath its bed,  
 The current bears his robe along.

Let the reader compare this with the forlorn pathos and energetic grandeur of the ancient ballad so magnificently translated by Lockhart.

“ From the last and fatal battle  
 Where the Moor had won the day,  
 Fled the hosts of Don Roderigo  
 Scattered round in wide dismay.  
 “ There where Guadalete wanders,  
 And our Lady's-harbour lay,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 There he took his lonely way.  
 “ Yester-eve these lordly castles,  
 Spain's wide empire, owned my sway;  
 Yester-eve I was a monarch,  
 What, alas! am I to-day?”  
 \* \* \* \* \*

Our last extracts must be taken from the works of the Minister Martinez de la Rosa, whose prose style, so elaborately elegant, is perhaps as little known here as his poetry. We select a slight but graceful

ANACREONTIC.

Who hath drained this cup, declare?  
 Doubtless it has been a Bee,  
 For his venom still is there,  
 And his sting I seem to see.

' Guest, no Bee bath near it been,  
 'Twas a lovely Boy, I ween.'  
 A Boy?—' Yes.'—Armed?—' His eyes were bound.'  
 Enough!—the rest my breast has found.

We must conclude with a few elegant lines, entitled

THE ALHAMBRA.

Come to my bidding, gentle Damsels fair  
 That haunt the banks of Douro and Genil;  
 Come, crowned with roses in your fragrant hair  
 More fresh and pure than April balms distil.  
 With long dark locks adown your shoulders straying;  
 With eyes of fire, and lips of honied power;  
 Uncinctured robes, the bosom bare displaying,  
 Let songs of love escort me to the bower.  
 With Love resounds the murmur of the stream;  
 With Love the nightingale awakes the grove;  
 O'er wood and mountain Love inspires the theme,  
 And Earth and Heaven repeat the strain of Love.  
 Even there, where midst th' Alcazar's Moorish pride  
 Three centuries of ruin sleep profound,  
 From marble walls, with gold diversified,  
 The sullen echoes murmur Love around.  
 Where are its glories now?—the pomps, the charms,  
 The triumph, the emprise of proud display!  
 The song, the dance, the feast, the deeds of arms,  
 The gardens, baths, and fountains—where are they?  
 Round jasper columns thorns and ivy creep;  
 Where roses blossomed, brambles now o'erspread:  
 The mournful ruins bid the spirit weep;  
 The broken fragments stay the passing tread.  
 Ye nymphs of Douro! to my words give heed;  
 Behold how transient pride and glory prove;  
 Then, while the headlong moments urge their speed,  
 Taste happiness, and try the joys of Love.

We are satisfied, for the present, with offering these few extracts, of no great interest generally, to the reader, and shall reserve more elaborate specimens for a more comprehensive view of the peninsular poets.



ART. VIII.—1. *Staatsrechtliche Bedenken über das Patent Seiner Majestät des Königs Ernst August von Hannover vom 5 Julius, 1837.* Cotta : Stuttgart. 1837.

2. *Der dreizehnte Artikel der Deutschen Bundes Akte und die Hannöverische Verfassungsfrage.* Von E. Burckhardt, Dr. Juris. Weber : Leipzig. 1837.
3. *Staatsrechtliche Würdigung des Patents Sr. Maj. des Königs von Hannover vom 1 Nov.* Hamburg. 1837.
4. *Die Gründe des Patents vom 1 Nov. Nachtrag, &c.* Von Dr. C. F. Wurm, Professor. Hamburg. 1837.

THE proclamation issued by the king of Hanover on his accession to the government of that country has attracted the attention of all Europe, and has excited the feelings of men of all parties in a higher degree than could have been expected, considering the small importance of the States he is called to govern. But it is because the step taken by this monarch is thought by some to probe most deeply the wound under which the repose of Europe has long been suffering, that the question is looked upon as of general interest; and in all the states of central Europe the cause of the king, or that of his people, is adopted as their own by the professors of monarchical or of democratic principles. For Englishmen it cannot be altogether a matter of indifference, were it only on account of the near position of the principal actor to the British throne.

Looking upon the system of government in the German states as one of paramount importance, upon which the duration of peace in Europe mainly depends, we confess that we do not regret to see it stated in so decided a manner; as we think that in this way a satisfactory solution of its difficulties is most likely to be obtained. That the true strength of a nation consists in the cordial co-operation between the ruler and the people was a principle clearly seen and acknowledged by the German courts in 1813, and broadly stated in the Act of the Congress of Vienna. The desire felt by all to have the Germanic governments placed on a firmer basis, and enabled to maintain their independence against foreign attacks, dictated no doubt the introduction of a clause to that effect into the Act of Confederation, which, as an integral part of the treaty of Vienna, was solemnly ratified by the eight contracting powers. A new element was here, for the first time, avowedly introduced into the sphere of politics, and the alliances of sovereigns were indirectly admitted to be insecure, unless based upon institutions which secured them the consent and support of their subjects. This fact opened, however, for

diplomatic activity, a path so entirely new, to changes so possibly hazardous in the excited state of German feeling, that all the contracting parties without exception soon afterwards abandoned the principle thus laid down; and, while some applied means of coercion to silence all demands for the fulfilment of the given promise, others seemed to regard its breach with the most supine indifference.

One consequence of the excitement left by the last war in Germany has been, that the peace so long desired, and so much needed, has never been fully enjoyed there. The lands so much exhausted by that war have been burdened almost ever since with armies upon a war footing, which consumed what ought to have been the accumulating capital of those countries, while they withdrew from industrious pursuits numbers of the ablest inhabitants. Nursed by vehement demagogues, a state of things has arisen directly opposed to that which was desirable, inasmuch as the inhabitants of several German states look upon their interests as diametrically opposite to those of their sovereigns: a consequence of which is, that no German court at the present day can make any alliance whatever without rendering half its subjects discontented, while the gradual co-approximation of the greater states of Europe, by means of an improved system of commerce, and reciprocal ties of hospitality, has not yet made any progress. How much has thus been neglected, or left undone, must present itself forcibly to the mind, when we consider the present state of so large a part of Europe.

That Great Britain is, to a high degree, interested in the establishment of constitutional forms of government in neighbouring nations, cannot be denied by any who have maturely considered the development of the social state of Europe. In lands where the people take a proper part in the government, the whole force of the nation is directed to promote its internal improvement, to the advancement of agriculture, to the facilitating and encouraging of commerce, to the improvement of the physical and moral condition of the people at large. And this for the very simple reason, that the advantages accruing from such a direction of the energies of the state are visible and tangible to every individual: the agriculturist, the merchant, the citizen, labouring, each in his vocation, to improve their several conditions. The object each strives to attain is at no remote distance, and his satisfaction at every progressive advantage gained, is the strongest stimulus to further exertion. Any proposal made to a nation thus occupied in the pursuit of the true aim of humanity, and that appears likely to divert their endeavours into a less profitable channel, for the sake of attaining some remote or problematical good, is

sure to be rejected, if the class thus encouraged to exertion be allowed influence enough in the conduct of the government to command attention to its wishes; such is at least the avowed principle of the political alliance between England and France: and it is possible to lay aside much jealousy of our French neighbours, when they have a government that sets more value upon a system of rail-roads throughout the country than upon the extension of its frontier to the Rhine. Even the conquests made by such a government may be looked upon with less alarm, in one sense, than they would otherwise inspire. The arms of a free country spread civilization, and, by awakening the subdued people to a sense of their true interests, gradually neutralize the brute force which, in its uncultivated state, was only a source of constant apprehension; and thus, in the end, limit their own power to wield it in a bad cause. The surest guarantee for the preservation of peace in Europe is the progressive advancement of every nation in civilization, in the knowledge of its true interests, and in the power to enforce their inviolability.

Had Great Britain been able, or, perhaps, been more willing, to establish such a form of government in Spain and Portugal, the Quadruple Alliance might, probably, attain its aim. The strength of four such nations united for the attainment of so grand an object as mutual assistance in the promotion of the true interests of their subjects, and this by legitimate means alone, could not fail to achieve a mighty moral conquest; and to force, though at long intervals, those governments whose leaders still adhere to an antiquated line of policy, to follow in their track. The attempt has unfortunately miscarried from every kind of miscalculation; and, instead of powerful allies, we are threatened from that quarter with a dangerous dissolution of all ties of order and morality, by the protracted and exterminating civil wars: it may, therefore, be worth while to view with some attention the state of other countries of Europe, if we are to hope that a similar course of policy may be pursued amongst them with more success.

The insufficiency of the ancient forms of government in the Germanic states to cope with the attacks from within and from without, to which the new order of things, introduced by the French revolution, exposed them, seemed to have been felt by the different sovereigns in full force during the period of their calamities; and to have dictated the promises held out by them to the people in 1813, when an endeavour was made to rouse all the national energies to a grand united effort.

The manner in which the Germans answered the summons, accompanied by these assurances, showed sufficiently the value

set upon them by those to whom they were addressed. How could it be otherwise? Had not the only country in which the people were admitted to a share in the government, proved itself equal to a contest single handed with all the rest of Europe? And did not our neighbours feel that we possessed none but moral superiority, arising from this source, over them? The internal resources of Great Britain are not equal to those of any of the other great powers; and her colonies were not called upon to contribute in any manner to her support. An impatience of ancient forms, and a thirst for novel principles, had gradually sprung from the revolution and diffused itself into the theoretical activity of the German mind—so that even the arbitrary changes introduced into many German states by the French, and by French influence, were often received and clung to as benefits; and those powers which had possessions on the Rhine were obliged to leave their subjects in these provinces in the undisturbed enjoyment of their newly acquired institutions, lest they should prefer a sacrifice of their nationality to that of the laws, which, however incomplete, were sometimes preferred to the ancient institutions of Germany. This has been the case with the Rhenish provinces of Prussia; Bavaria, in which the trial by jury is still maintained; and partly in the Grand Dutchies of Hesse and of Baden; in all, the Code Napoleon is still in force. But what security could there be for the other States, where these forms of administration had not been introduced, or had been abolished in the fever of reaction, that others, not less desirable, should be granted to them, unless the people were allowed to make their wishes known through the medium of representatives?

There can be no more unfounded supposition than that advanced by some English journals in their strictures upon the proceedings in Hanover, and which represents the mass of the people as indifferent to the form of government under which they live. We shall enter later into a detail of the reasons why even the lowest classes are deeply interested in the forms of legislation; and it will at the same time appear, that the landholders are no less so. We shall here first insert the opinion of a living German lawyer,\* of highest repute, as to what was understood at the period of the Congress of Vienna, by the term **ESTATES** (*Landstände*) at the time their establishment was fixed by treaty.

"In every state was to be introduced a representative constitution by **Estates**, (*Landständische Verfassung*). The meaning of the expression was, to be sure, not more precisely fixed in the Act of Federation, but

\* Karl Fried. Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechtsgeschichte*, 1836, p. 697, Vol. iv.

no doubt could exist as to the scope of the clause thus inserted, for, in the negotiations about this article, all were agreed that the Estates were to enjoy the right of granting taxes and of joint control over their appropriation ; of participating in the legislative functions ; of petitioning ; and of having their constitution represented in the German diet, as far as the construction of this latter body admitted of it."

Could the article in question have been acted upon by the German sovereigns in this sense, we have no hesitation in saying that their position would now be no less advantageous than the condition of the people would be powerful and flourishing. But circumstances and even prejudices prevented this, and drove the former to brave the chances of suppressed discontent and the attacks of revolutionizing emissaries, rather than submit to the undisguised control and imperious remonstrances of their subjects on matters of administration ; incurring, perhaps, even the risk of losing their power altogether rather than submit to the proposed direction as to their manner of wielding it. In those lands where no direct refusal to act up to the obligations imposed by the sovereigns upon themselves and on each other was given, as was the case in Prussia and Austria, still so much hesitation, doubt, and difficulty have hitherto interposed, that the monarchs have nearly lost the popularity thus, in the first instance, acquired for them, and Germany now affords scarcely an instance of a cordial feeling existing between a prince and his entire people.

In those countries where local circumstances, or respect for public opinion, determined the rulers to establish a form of government answering in some degree the conditions prescribed by the Act of Congress, three modes of proceeding were adopted. Where the French rule had entirely supplanted the ancient form of administration, and the new institutions had taken root, there could be no difficulty in establishing the estates in a manner conformable to a theory of legislation, novel for Germany, although so long in practice in England. The mass of the privileged aristocracy was thus divided in Baden into two classes ; the lesser nobility, or knights, who formerly claimed equal privileges with the nobility, that is to say, with princes, counts, and barons, were reduced to representation in the lower house by deputies, who sat with the deputies of other landed proprietors and of the towns.

- The chambers were acknowledged to possess the undisputed right of joint legislation with the sovereign, and of controlling the revenue.

In Württemberg and Bavaria, where the sovereigns came forward with the dangerous precedent of originating constitutions to be granted to the people, they reserved more undisguisedly the right of limiting and defining the powers thus supposed to be conceded.

The desire of having something like a solid basis upon which to erect the superstructure of an administration, improvable, as it was trusted, by unwearyed attention on the part of the representatives of the people, aided by the influence of an enlightened age, rendered these countries grateful for the present, and procured for the respective sovereigns no small share of popularity at the time. In both countries the same division of the privileged aristocracy took place as in Baden. In all, the governments trusted to the influence left them in the power of appointing and promoting the officers of justice; and to the ambition, carefully encouraged, which prevails in the higher and middle classes, of serving the state in the army or in the numerous bureaux, as a means of directing, or, at least, controlling the power of the estates.

The third form of proceeding is that recommended by the ablest lawyers, although avowedly attended with the greatest difficulties, and was acted upon in Hanover and some other states. It consisted in taking the old forms for a basis, and endeavouring to model and develope them according to the demands of the times. The temporary restoration of the ancient order of things, which took place in the fullest manner after the expulsion of the French, and which was so thorough-going, that even the officers of the German Legion were embodied in the new regiments according to their standing in the old Hanoverian army, gave the government the advantage of conceding, or appearing to concede, the abolition of various abuses; some of these had been done away, others introduced, by the Prussian and French occupants. But in the restoration of the ancient system in general, and which was unavoidable until modifications and improvements could be safely introduced,—for the system of the recent hostile occupants was necessarily foreign and not native; and some immediate form of government was indispensable;—this was not the only advantage taken by the monarch and ruling party of the position in which they were thus suddenly placed. In order, however, clearly to explain the proceedings in Hanover during the last years, some description of the old state of things must be given.

The princes of Germany to whom the rank and rights of sovereigns were granted by the treaty of Vienna, were in former times only the great vassals of the emperor, standing in the same relation to him which the barons of England did to the first kings of the House of Plantagenet. They represented the nation in conjunction with the prelates and deputies of the towns, which were summoned as early as the reign of Rudolph of Habsburg\* to the diet (*Reichstag*.) But two circumstances tended to give

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\* Eichhorn, *Staats und Rechtsgeschichte*, iv. 330.

the development of this form of constitution a very different course from that of England ; viz. the power and extent of possessions of some of the nobles, and the uninfringed right of administering justice in their baronial courts. The after vassals of the great lords were bound to do military service ; and the individuals who cultivated the grounds, the peasants, or *Bauern*, whom the refinement of the laws of chivalry prevented from bearing knightly arms, either followed in their train, or purchased exemption from this duty by contributions for the support of the army : even the clergy furnished their quota. No one had dreamed that out of this order of things, natural in a barbarous age, would grow a constitution, according to which the nobles and knights, long after their service became unnecessary, or obtainable only for money, could claim exemption from the payment of taxes, and throw the whole burden of contributing to the wants of the state upon the peasants and citizens. Yet such was the constitution of the greater part of the states governed by the elector of Hanover previous to the year 1803.

A semi-official work\* published in 1826, as a kind of justification of the measures adopted by the Hanoverian government partly with and partly without the consent of the estates up to that time, has the following statement of the privilege thus claimed by the knights and lower nobility.

" The extent of the freedom from taxes enjoyed by the knights was different in every province. In the principalities of Calenberg and Grubenhagen it had been very limited since 1688. In Lüneburg, on the other hand, the freedom of the knight's estates from all contributions existed in the fullest sense. The same was the case in the county of Hoya, and in the duchy of Bremen. In Hildesheim the former state of things had been so changed, and rendered so complicated by a contract agreed to by the estates in 1798, relative to the debts and contributions of that district, as to render it impossible to bring about any assimilation to other provinces, even if regard were had to the measures adopted by the Prussian and Westphalian governments. In Osnabrück the relative position of the estates to the weak government of a bishop entirely dependent upon them for grants, had enabled them to acquire a greater exemption from taxes than was to be found any where else. The knights contributed nothing from their own possessions even to the *Charitalivum*, which they used to vote yearly to their prince ; and this circumstance had, so early as 1803, when the land had come under Hanoverian sovereignty in consequence of its secularisation, given occasion to very disagreeable discussions."

But this exemption from taxation was not the only privilege of the lower nobility restored in 1813. Professor Luden, in a work

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\* *Zur Geschichte des Königreichs Hannover, 1826, p. 180.*

on Hanover, published in 1818,\* enumerated the privileges of the noblesse in a list filling two closely printed large octavo pages. We may select the following as most remarkable:—The right of having all causes in which they, or their households, were concerned, tried exclusively in the chanceries (a higher court of justice): exemption from all quartering of troops during peace; and in war-time the liability only to such extra requisitions as exceeded the usual demands of the peace-establishment: finally, the exclusive right of being appointed to certain offices: for instance, no other than a knight or a nobleman (in most cases taken as synonymous titles, although by no means so originally) can be appointed abbot or *ausreiter* of St. Michael's in Lüneberg; counsellor or deputy of the knights; president, vice-president, or counsellor on the nobles' bench of the court of appeals at Celle; chief justice and commissary of licenses in Calenberg; president of the royal court at Celle; land-commissary in Lüneburg and Haya, &c. &c. In the *Georgianum* at Hanover, and in the Noble-academy at Lüneburg, no other than sons of the nobility, and in the greater number of convents, none but daughters of noble houses, could be admitted. The abbesses were required to be of unspotted noble descent.

The exemption from quartering of troops in a kingdom where barracks are not abundant, was no inconsiderable privilege: and perhaps Hanover is the only country in which noble descent has ever been regarded as an indispensable requisite for a lawyer. The retention of the revenues of some convents, secularized at the period of the reformation, for the benefit of unmarried daughters of the nobility, is a striking proof of the influence that class exerted in legislation in Germany. But the restoration of the old state of things in 1814 had by no means the exclusive benefit of the nobles for its object. The provincial states, existing generally from an early period, were, notwithstanding their mutual discrepancies and defects, endeared to the memories of the nation by long habit and by their influence, both in taxation and the suggestion of local measures. On the expulsion of the French they were, to the great joy of the nation, consequently restored at the time, but with a view to future modifications according to the improvement of the age. In this return to a former order of things, the re-appropriation of the royal domains, which are very extensive, formed naturally a conspicuous object; and in order to effect this completely, it was attempted in the first instance, to invalidate even private contracts made under the French and Westphalian governments. From this, however, it was soon found advisable to desist.

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\* Das Königreich Hannover, &c.

In restoring the national institutions, concessions had, necessarily, to be made on both sides, and an arrangement hastened, in order to get the start of a third party which could not be excluded altogether from an eventual interference in the matter. In order to facilitate the compromise, and save what was possible out of the wreck of the shattered vessel, a general *landstade*, or meeting of the estates, took place, under the unqualified assurance of the prince regent,\* "that he acknowledged the bounds which the Lord of Heaven and Earth had set to his power," and that "considering their advice as indispensable to point out the means by which he can achieve his wish of promoting the welfare of the land," he requires them to be to him "what in the sister kingdom the parliament of Great Britain is,—the high council of the nation."†

However well-intentioned this project of assimilation to the British constitution might have been, experience early showed the fallacy of attempting to transplant the growth and native production of one country to a wholly different soil. The statesmen concerned did not, in truth, commit the error of a transfer in integrity; but the ill success of even their modified form reads a political lesson, which other and more sanguine temperaments elsewhere have, unfortunately for themselves, been slow to take. We shall furnish the reader with an account of the projected improvement in the shape of a general assembly, formed provisionally by the government.

Under the old system, each of the nine provinces or districts of the land had, as we have hinted, their several estates, in which the prelates and nobles appeared personally, and the towns by their deputies. These several estates were now called upon to send *deputies* to the General Assembly, representing the different classes, in proportions fixed by the Government, and whose numbers were as follows :

The Prelates were represented by 3 abbots and 7 deputies from (secularized) Monasteries . . . . .	10
The Nobles and Knights sent deputies from different provinces . . . . .	43
The Towns deputed . . . . .	29
Districts in which the landed proprietors not of noble birth, were privileged . . . . .	3
In all . . . . .	85

A gradual change however, was so little satisfactory to the

\* Speech of the Duke of Cambridge at the opening of the estates, 15th Dec. 1814.

† Duke of Cambridge's Second Speech to the Estates, 16th Dec. 1814.

awakened spirit of innovation, that alluding to the great majority here allowed to the privileged classes, the work which we above quoted, published by Professor Luden, declares this assembly to stand in the same relation to the nation at large, as the provincial states formerly did, of whom it is said, p. 54,

“ From the nature of their privileges, it is very apparent that they had their origin at a time when nobody, and least of all the estates themselves, dreamt of looking upon these estates as representatives of the people at large, as they were afterwards made to appear. These privileges do not proclaim them to be the advocates, they shew them to be the enemies of the people. They are undoubtedly infringements of the rights of the people, since the prelates have ceased to be the ministers of religious instruction, and the nobles to be the sole and ever ready defenders of the country.”

The first steps taken by this Assembly, and the treatment they received from the Government, effectually extinguished any exaggerated hopes that the sanguine may have entertained from their deliberations. The re-establishment of the old order of things, the organization of the military force, and the issue of different decrees regulating the taxation of the various provinces in which the French and Westphalian financial system were abolished, were measures taken by the Government before issuing the patent of summons for the estates. The re-establishment of the old form of government was simply a necessary, though provisional, return to the *status quo*, incident to the expulsion of the invaders. In the unsettled state of the public feeling, and of political affairs in general, it would have been worse than ridiculous to have sacrificed to the demon of Theory, by leaving the country without a Government till the different parties should have agreed upon one general *panacea*: the point therefore was not submitted to their consideration. But under the foreign rule the inhabitants had for nearly six years enjoyed some advantages, which they could not see abolished without regret: of these, the principal gain for the lower ranks was the equality in which all classes stood in the eye of the law, as comprehending the equal administration of justice, the equal partition of the burdens of the state, and the equal obligation to military service among all. Merit was the sole professed passport to advancement; and a legislative body had been established, ad captandum, in which all classes of inhabitants were represented, though the powers granted the Assembly rendered it feeble and ineffectual. If we consider that during this period popular opinion had made some progress; that French soldiers had been quartered in every house, and numerous regiments had served with different divisions of the French army, on which occasions, men of all classes had not only heard

new rights discussed, but seen them put in practice ; while others, either in their own persons, or those of their friends, had experienced the rapid distinction shewn to obsequious talent by rulers anxious to turn it to their own account ; we may easily imagine that the hearts of many, and these the more restless, beat in anxious expectation when the new Assembly of the Estates commenced their deliberations. In the fifth meeting, this body closed its doors to the public, and declared its sittings to be secret. By this resolution, although the results of the deliberations were known, yet the public was prevented from learning the reasons adduced in support of many measures which were adopted, to the surprise of the uninitiated.

The urgent necessities of the times caused a vote, justifying the collection of the taxes on the provisory footing arranged by the Ministry, until a definitive mode of taxation should be agreed upon. Public business was thus enabled to proceed ; but from that moment the Estates occupied themselves with long and fruitless discussions respecting this definitive measure, on which they could be brought to no unanimous decision, for the very natural reason that the privileged classes wished to preserve what they considered their rights ; while their opponents with their proper satellites within and without doors, loudly clamoured against them and their claims. These disputes were interrupted by the prorogation of the Estates ; and during the recess, the Sovereign and his Ministers, acting simply on the restored Constitution of the kingdom, issued decrees upon the most important measures, such as an exchange of the province of Lunenburg against that of East Friesland ; the organization of a national military force ; and the obliging individuals who had entered into the first and temporary levy of the militia, to extend their period of service to six years. To the legislative body, some of these measures were afterwards notified in a speech, delivered by the minister Count Muuster, on the re-assembly of the body in December 1815. Some of the decrees were obviously and sufficiently grounded on the urgency of the period, and the confusion created by the return of Napoleon from Elba ; and to an objection that the same defence cannot be set up for the municipal constitutions given to many towns recently acquired by Hanover, and for the establishment of a system of police throughout the country, without, as was pretended, the consent or participation of the representatives of the people, it is a sufficient reply, that the Government was empowered by the Constitution to act as it saw fit ; and this, too, fortunately ; for the Estates were losing the time in futile discussions, and leaving the two main questions, on which all depended, untouched. These questions were, the right of the King to look

upon the crown-domains as his private property, which was strongly contested; and the extent of the privileges which the nobles were to be allowed in regard to taxation, and to the right of appointment to certain offices, or of preference in the nomination to others.

At length, in 1817, the Government thought it had discovered a plan of proceeding, which would at the same time definitively fix the right of the Sovereign to the lands in question, and cause the Estates to advance one step at least, towards a freer field of action than they had hitherto attained. A fresh provisory system of taxation was laid before the Estates by the ministry, in which a land-tax was included, that was ostensibly to be levied only on the unprivileged landed property, but which his Majesty was graciously pleased to declare he would himself submit to for his domains, in his capacity of privileged landowner. This liberal example, it was hoped, would enforce obedient imitation on the part of the privileged members of the Estates, for themselves, and their constituents. Things were thus brought to a point, decisive for both parties; but the nobles were not to be won from their excessive privileges. The royal proposal was at once decried and opposed by those who preferred their own immunities to the national weal; and this betrayal of the common cause naturally broke, in some measure, the intimate alliance between the king and his nobles, and probably lent weight to the strong expression of public discontent, which in 1818 and 1819 was manifested in many parts of the kingdom, and led to the establishment of the first constitution granted to the Hanoverians, and to a total change in the system of representation, though little or nothing was thereby gained by the nation.

We have dwelt perhaps longer than some of our readers may think necessary, upon the constitution and proceedings of the first General Assembly of the Estates in Hanover, after the Restoration; but without doing so, it would have been impossible to show the true point of view from which the present state of that country must be regarded. We shall not dwell so long upon what was called the constitution of 1819. It is merely necessary to state that its plan was discussed, and, after long debates, approved by the General Assembly of the Estates, at the requisition of the King and Ministry.

In the plan drawn up and forwarded to London for the royal sanction, an attempt was made to remedy two grand defects, which were notorious in the composition of the first General Assembly of the Estates; viz., the preponderance of votes given to the privileged classes; and the non-representation of a considerable class of landowners; i. e. those holding free estates, but not en-

titled to rank amongst the lower nobility. Twenty-two new deputies were now to be chosen by these free proprietors, which would have sufficed to restore the balance, if only one Chamber were retained, as had hitherto been the case.

The anxiety and fervour of hope raised by the idea of a reform in the constitution, and which had brought so much suffering on the country, was not greater nor more groundless than the dejection and supineness induced by the first disappointment of those exaggerated expectations. We may here remark that this passive submission was the only choice left to the movement party after the language used by Austria and Prussia at the congress of Carlsbad. The renewed disappointment and dejection of that party can therefore be imagined when the Royal answer was brought, in which the Prince Regent, after denying any positive right on the part of the claimants to the constitution claimed, granted as a boon the form they had drawn up, but with the weighty alteration of a Parliament of two chambers: in the first of these, with the mediatised princes and counts, the deputies of the knights were placed, while the deputies of the towns and free owners of land almost alone composed the second chamber. The institution of two chambers might of itself have been of little consequence; or even advantageous, if the contest between privileged and unprivileged classes could have been modified, as by the practice of the British Constitution before the Reform Bill, and led, like that, to a balance of parties and free discussions in one chamber first: but the separation of these two classes into two independent bodies, one of which had the right of putting its veto upon all the resolutions of the other, was a death blow to the hopes of the innovators. Count Munster, who was the organ of the royal will on this occasion, and who was known to possess the intimate confidence of the Regent, was, whether correctly or not, looked upon as the author of this measure, and hence arose from the movement party a clamorous outcry for his dismissal, in their demands of 1830.

From the promulgation of the Constitution of 1819, the representation of the people sank to a complete cypher, as far as regarded the conduct of affairs. Men of influence and intrigue shrank from the station assigned to them, and great difficulty was found in procuring deputies to attend the convocations of the parliament. The shock of the July revolution roused all parties to a sudden and increased activity.

During this period, when the voice of innovation was deprived of every organ but one so inefficient for the expression of its desires, their discontent was silent indeed, but not appeased. We have voluntarily passed over the detail of the former modes of

administration re-introduced at the restoration, and since modified at various times, without being very materially improved, because those changes were based upon an unsound foundation ; as it would have led to unavoidable explanatory digressions, which would only weary the reader. It may suffice to say, that the Government was supported by the constituted authorities, the civil and military *employés*, the force of cherished early habits and long established institutions, which the people at large had never been induced to depreciate notwithstanding the imperfections they contained, by the outcry raised in some quarters against them. But the complicated and tardy administration of justice, where its officers were so numerous ; the useless expense in salaries for men who were withdrawn, by appointments that hindered instead of forwarding the public weal, from their proper station as industrious members of society ; finally, the unwearied zeal of the fiscal authorities, in detecting every hidden source of gain, in order to make it contribute to a fund raised and appropriated without the full control of the nation, were causes of dissatisfaction too glaring not to be seized and set forth on the impulse given by the French revolution in July ; and in Gottingen, the declaration of discontent and demand for redress, bore the appearance of an appeal to arms : but the rest of the nation did not follow the example thus given. A new monarch had ascended the throne, whose principles were not as yet known, but whose expressions of discontent with the government of Hanover, when he had visited the country as a curious stranger, all could well remember. An appeal was made to William IV. He rejected the advice of the minister so long obnoxious to the movement party, and who forthwith resigned ; and a fresh summons was issued to prepare a new and approved constitution.

The plan drawn up in 1831 by the States, and submitted to the Royal approval, contained the proposition of two chambers ; but the knights were to be represented by their deputies in the second instead of the first. In other respects, the numbers and position of the members were but little altered ; the King was, however, to have the power of nominating any individual possessing landed property to the annual amount of 6000 dollars (a little less than 900/), to a seat in the Upper Chamber, or, in other words, of conferring a peerage upon him. Once more all hopes were exaggerated to be once more disappointed. The king arbitrarily transferred the deputies of the knights to the first chamber, and accompanying his consent by a far fuller reserve of his royal prerogatives than his predecessor had made, returned the plan, with these alterations, to be put in execution, *without further consent of the Chambers*, for they were already *dissolved at the time*. This proceeding deservedly procured the new constitution

the appellation of a “*Charte octroyée*”: it has been acted upon, indeed, but only under a strong protest of the ministry, and hence the present question arises.

But the royal consent had been given to other propositions contained in the original plan, which were of paramount importance. In the first place, the long demanded concession, that the crown lands were the property of the state, was formally made, but accompanied by the condition that their produce was in the first instance to be employed to defray the civil list, which was also, amusingly enough, fixed by *the constitution*, at 500,000 dollars annually. The present income produced by the domains does not reach that sum, and the estates are obliged to purchase lands sufficient to cover the amount: but the direction of these lands is under their controul, and by proper management they perhaps look for a surplus at some future day. A second point granted by the King, even more important for the nation than the foregoing, but a much more doubtful exertion of royal generosity, relates to the relative position of landholders and peasants towards one another. As this is the point, in speaking of which we promised to show that no class of the inhabitants could look with indifference at the present state of affairs in Hanover, we must enter a little more fully into detail for explaining its importance.

The terms on which land is held by the German peasant from his landlord have long been unknown in England, if they ever prevailed to the same extent here. In all countries, however, there must have been a period when it was not possible to convert every value into money; and we find in those districts which lie most remote from the grand routes of commerce, and especially in those at a distance from the sea, the most frequent remains of contracts in kind. Land was, until lately, held all over Germany on a mixed rent, part of which was paid in money, part in labour, and part in produce of the soil. The origin of these contracts, for it is not denied that a contract once existed,\* is for the most part lost in the obscurity of the middle ages; and much land held in this manner is supposed to have been allodial property, of which the owner surrendered the manorial rights to some powerful neighbour, and submitted even to the payment of a fee, or to some kind of service, in order to obtain his protection in a time of danger. Modern lawyers, looking rather to what they consider the advantage of the country and the agricultural class, than displaying much scrupulosity respecting the actual state of property, have stated as a broad principle, that land held on this kind of tenure must be looked upon in the same light as ac-

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\* *Runde-Privat-Recht*, p. 487.

knowledged fiefs, the virtual property in which is transferred on certain conditions to the holder; and they assert that the origin of this mode of tenure\* was a similar necessity to that which caused the granting of fiefs, viz. the impossibility of cultivating in any other manner, at a period when labourers were not to be had for hire, the ground thus given away by the grantor.

Without going deeper into these theories, it may be remarked that of late years a somewhat startling principle of legislation has been adopted and acted upon throughout the greater part of Germany; according to which, the holder of land under any other conditions than those of a contract of lease for a limited number of years, can demand the surrender of the property hitherto supposed to be vested in his landlord, on the payment of an indemnification, which varies in different countries, according to a standard decreed by the legislature.†

The repugnance felt by the present age to many of the conditions by which great part of the peasants hold their land, made it easy to give these services the appearance of burdens degrading to human nature: and that some, deservedly regarded as such, existed, especially in the Hanoverian States, and were restored with the abuses before alluded to, cannot be denied. In the district of Osnabrück, for instance, the landlords claimed on many estates the rights of masters over serfs in the treatment of their peasants, who could not leave the ground, or marry, without purchasing their permission, and on whose death a certain portion of their property was claimed by the landlord.

The usual fees, however, of the tithe of the produce of the land, a certain number of days' service in the year, either in manual labour, or with horse and cart, bore more the character of a rent in kind, which could only become an oppression by the manner in which it was exacted. The cases in which unlimited service of this kind was demanded, together with the right of forcing peasants into the immediate service of the lord, and the power of commanding their attendance on hunting parties, might more fairly be classed with actual servitude, and looked upon as unjustifiable grievances at the present day.

Every right of this kind claimed by the landowner in France, where the custom was also prevalent, was violently abolished at the Revolution. In the lands occupied by the French in Germany, the more oppressive of these claims were abolished without indemnification, and the others declared to be the subject of negotiation between the parties interested. As these rights returned in their full force to the landholders on the restoration,

\* Runde P. R. 467.

† In some states 20 years, in others 25 years purchase has been fixed.

it was natural that a demand should ensue for an acknowledgment of the right to purchase freedom from them in Hanover, conformably to the example set by the Government of many States of Southern Germany.

That this was a point which required to be approached with the greatest coolness, and with the tenderest regard for the interests of all concerned, was as evident, as it was certain that no agreement satisfactory to all parties could be concluded without a cordial co-operation and conciliatory mode of proceeding between those interested in the question. How much, therefore, had both parties in Hanover lost, when the subject came to be discussed, through the distrust naturally inspired by violence or intrigues, alike inconsistent with the more rational spirit and true enlightenment of the age. Had the different classes placed confidence in each other's intentions, it would have been easier perhaps to realise the wish of the celebrated lawyer whom we have quoted once before; and by some clear and judicious resolutions as to the nature of private contracts in general,\* to have avoided the disagreeable alternative of forcing any one to give up what he naturally looks upon as a sacred right of property.

The advocates for a compulsory release of the peasants from the obligations of tithes and personal service, adduced some reasons rather more plausible as recommendations to adopt the measure than justificatory of its enforcement. These were, that the greater part of the services in question were more costly to those who rendered, than profitable to those who received them; that the taking of tithes opened the door to much oppression, inasmuch as the landlord had the power of preventing the peasant from housing his crop until he chose to take his due; that tithes operate as hindrances to improved cultivation of the land, the labourer being unwilling to work for gain which he is obliged to share with another.

This last is, in truth, the favourite argument of prejudiced ignorance in support of a pitiful fallacy. No one can be ignorant that the value of the tithe and the amount of rent *actually* paid, make up, together, the *real* amount of rent. The landlord loses it therefore, the Church gains it; but the tenant neither loses nor gains it, and merely pays to the latter what he would otherwise pay to the former. Tithe is a *moral* tax, a spiritual rent. But while the landlord's rent and the government's tax are both *physical* necessities, for both parties possess a power over the tenant, controlling even the love of money, this last, in its turn, predominates over the *moral* necessity, or tithe, in the tenant's

\* Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechts-Geschichte*, iv. p. 721.

mind: and poverty, sectarianism, indolence, and selfishness, all exert their cunning to find in words the excuse which fact cannot afford them.

Other and more weighty arguments than the foregoing were likewise brought forward to urge the necessity of adopting the measure of release. It was observed, that the transfer of land subject to these burdens was loaded with additional fees to the landlord, without whose consent it could not be alienated; that no division of the land, either by sale or by legacy, was allowed, in order that he might not be exposed to the necessity of claiming the dues from several possessors which he was entitled to receive from one only; in short, that the whole law of inheritance for the peasantry depended upon the contingencies of this kind, to which the class was liable, and could not be improved until this impediment was done away with.

But forcible as this reasoning is, the doctrine of obliging others to give up established rights of property, is one which cannot be received too cautiously: for, the precedent once established, no farther barrier remains to check an even transient popular impulse; and the rights of all property become a mere trust, held during pleasure of the very party most interested in its re-assumption. Nothing, therefore, is secure: least of all, then, can it be desirable to have the principle introduced in the shape of a **MANDATE FROM THE CROWN**, which *was the ultimate solution of the difficulty in this case*. The estates had indeed expressed the wish to lay down the principle of compulsory release for the peasants, and as early as the year 1822 a plan was drawn out for its execution, but it was *only with the new constitution* that it was formally adopted, and under this, **NOT IN THE FORM OF A BILL PASSED BY THE TOTALITY OF THE LEGISLATURE**, but as a grant **DICTATED BY THE CROWN** in the royal patent of WILLIAM IV., accompanying the draft of the constitution which had received his assent. So much for **REPRESENTATIVE WEIGHT** in the **DEPLORED NEW CONSTITUTION**!

But, it is pretended, besides the danger of establishing the precedent, that every monarch on his accession has the right of overthrowing all that had been agreed to by his predecessor, the question has fairly been started, how far is this non-recognition to be carried? If the constitution is not to be acknowledged, what is to be the fate of all contracts concluded under its guarantee? Are they to be dissolved? for in this manner no permanent change can be effected. We shall reply to those questions shortly, and for the first we would say,—

The question has not been fairly started, for the act of the predecessor has been, as we shall shew, established, even by the representatives of the nation, to be illegal and incomplete.

To the second,—that though the Fundamental Law is declared null, the proceedings under it are recognized; and this to prevent injury to the subjects from the error of the ruler.

To the third,—that legal changes will be permanent; as they alone ought to be.

We must here pause a moment to notice also a fact which doubtless will, and ought, to have its fair share in the future negotiations between the king and his people: namely, that no provision for the existing royal debts is made in the *economical* budget of the present ministry, to whom his Majesty's English politics were obnoxious; and this is surely a just and an honest ground for the retainment of his allowance in the country where the debt was incurred: for who would argue that the creditors should be left to the mercy of still unsettled Hanoverian contingencies alone, for the repayment of the obligations contracted only on the faith of the British allowance to a Prince of its Blood-Royal? Any motion on this subject, though intended simply to insult the Sovereign in question, would, if common shame and common honesty did not reject it, injure but the English creditor, by depriving him of his fair security. Such a course, and the silly rumours of what the future is to be, circulated by the very party who are certainly not in the confidence of King Ernest, can only create a smile. The whole affords one more melancholy proof of the ignorance and inconsistency which of late years have marked the proceedings of all who have taken a prominent part in the legislation of that country, whose welfare ought to have been more carefully watched by Great Britain; and whose fate, even now that the relations between the kingdoms are no longer so intimate, cannot be matter of indifference to us.

The Hanoverians require, however, no interference on our part now in their internal concerns; they are able to take care of themselves; and their interests would not be more forwarded than our own by any intermeddling on this occasion. We have already noticed the coincidence in point of time between the granting of the first nugatory constitution, in 1819, and the Congress of Carlsbad: some of our readers may have been struck by the similarly contemporaneous appearance of the second constitution, with its arbitrary dispositions, and the resolutions formed by the Diet at Frankfort in 1831, but which were not published until 1832. What a singular scene must that Diet have presented, at which the English minister presented remonstrances in the name of his king against resolutions to which his Hanoverian colleague, in the name of the same king, gave his consent and affixed his signature!

We have now gone at considerable length into the history of the later Hanoverian changes, repudiating to the best of our power the assumption of any marked tone, or party feeling, throughout the whole detail. We have referred, for the spirit of inquiry into existing political abuses, to the French revolution, but rather as the first obvious and exaggerated development of that spirit, than as itself originating principles which in reality grew out of the progress of society, and of which the revolution was only the perverted child. In the continuous progress of nations, and the consequent ceaseless increase of those complications which necessarily arise from hourly multiplying interests and eternally extending ramifications of thought, fresh views and feelings must unceasingly spring up in society, and its very nature materially change. But to refer these changes to the sagacity of any particular school, or the vehemence of any particular explosion, is only, we submit, mistaking the effect for the cause, and asking our gratitude not for the source, but the misdirection of principles. The impulses so generally referred to the French revolution had their origin long before; in the gradual enlightenment of the age: but it is a singular hypothesis to assume that this, confessedly general, enlightenment, was only partial and confined to the lower ranks of society instead of being participated by the upper also. It would be difficult to devise a reason why the latter, who possess in a higher degree the advantages of education, should yet be ignorant of truths so obvious, as is pretended, to their inferiors. The classes in whom the power of a government is generally vested could scarcely be more ignorant than those beneath them. And are they more selfish and interested? Has Nature two sets of feelings and passions? The upper ranks, it is said, are more concerned in the conservation of an existing order of things; and this in proportion to the personal interests they hold in the state. This is undeniable, or else their possession of property would be of no use to the community at large. The inferior classes are less concerned, and this from their inferior interests: it follows, therefore, that these, unless we are to consider them alone the sole perfection of human nature, must have greater interest than their superiors in effecting a change; and, consequently, that conservation and variation are both equally *selfish*. To build a form of government on any other basis than this principle of selfishness would be attempting an abstract perfection, not an adaptation to mankind as now constituted; and would therefore be useless, as all attempts at realizing this *beau-ideal* have proved.

The assumption, then, that those who conduct governments are in general more blind or more selfish than the rest of the

world, is manifestly groundless; and if we are to take particular instances, these at least should be approached and examined with candour. To judge of an act of the ruler, as in the case of the Hanoverian patent, merely by the effect it has produced on one portion of the people, is assuredly unjust. Feelings can be adopted as the measure of facts only when there is no other criterion to judge by: but the present case offers an opportunity of examination into the proceeding itself; and, from all that appears on this head, we have no hesitation in saying, that the hostile impression, wherever existing, is decidedly premature.

We must first simply state the facts of the case, observing preliminarily that if a Government is necessarily slow to effectuate a change in its own constitution, the cause may fairly be attributed rather to a doubt of the propriety of such change, and a sense of the difficulties attendant on it, together with a salutary distrust of an untried system, than to the mere want of information as to principles. The Government of a country too is always answerable, the people never, for the measures adopted there. The supporters of innovation, who adopted an opposite course from different motives, as we have shown, have therefore no right to assume for themselves an exclusive wisdom or disinterestedness. How then can we take their views as the sole basis, their impressions as the sole guides of our judgments?

We must further be allowed to observe, that we shall here endeavour to avoid misleading ourselves or others, by a misapplication of terms. The apparent meaning of the word *popular* refers to the *People* itself, yet its general use refers, not to the *People* but the *Populace*: that lighter portion of a solid mass which flies off at every breath, and atones for want of weight by levity and agitation. We have therefore throughout this article, substituted the term Democratic in its purest sense, as better conveying the idea of those extreme opinions, which give their stamp to the system of opposition to the Government.

We now turn to the facts of the case before us, premising that, as we have shown, both the Government and the People were agreed on the necessity of material changes in the Constitution of Hanover.

The General Assembly of the States, in 1831, propounded as a basis of future changes, and, in fact, of a Fundamental Law, that this should be the joint work, and settled by the mutual consent, of the King and the States.

The Government, accepting this condition, was thus bound by its own act to abide by it.

The propositions for the Fundamental Law were accordingly offered by the States to the Government.

The Government, receiving the propositions, altered some of the most material,\* by a no less violent change than the transfer of the knights from the Second Chamber to the First; which created an aristocratical preponderance not contemplated by the States: *i. e.* the Representatives of the People.

The law, so altered, was at once put into force, *without the consent of the States*, by the very Government that had bound itself to *act only with that consent*. Thus vitiating the very basis of its own proceedings by a Despotic Act.

Further, the Crown had itself dissolved these very States before issuing its patent for the enactment of the law in question. So, that in fact, the Crown had barred the popular voice from pronouncing the very judgment it had been expressly empowered to pronounce.

The Fundamental Law was thus, by the sole power of the Crown, fixed as the Law of the People, and enforced and acted upon as such.

Yet this irregularity was objected to at the time by a formal protest of the minister, *on behalf of the People*, and thus the right of objection was preserved.

So far then, every subsequent step of the proceeding vitiating, and was vitiating by, the first arrangement: and the protest stamped the seal of its invalidity.

But the advocates of this singular proceeding, which multiplies a Sovereign into a Representative Assembly, and makes the two *negatives* on the popular side into one *affirmative* of despotic power, have shown their own sense of the incompleteness of this anomaly, by arguing for a later effectiveness of the change, and the validity of the Constitution in question, *because that Fundamental Law was subsequently agreed to by the States themselves*.

This has the double merit of being the *best* and the *worst* argument in the whole business.

If, as is contended, it is conclusive of the validity in question now, it is not less conclusive of the invalidity previously. For it establishes that, by the general sense of the Estates or Popular Representatives, the carrying of the Fundamental Law into effect in the first instance was a violation of acknowledged Representative Rights, and that all proceedings since are thus arbitrary and invalid.

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\* These alterations were fourteen in number. Amongst them were the Liberty of the Press. The power of the Crown to determine upon the cases where the army might be employed; the right to interfere in corporations in matters of justice, in the transfer of causes from one tribunal to another: its exemption from the national audit of its own household accounts, and its right of dispensing with the oath to the Fundamental Law in its own servants: to say nothing of the feudal tenure, &c. &c.

But further : if the subsequent consent of the States legalizes the act, a door is thrown open to all future Despotism—for it establishes the Precedent that *any confessed illegality*,—however ARBITRARY, AND EVEN TYRANNOUS—may be enforced by the Sovereign alone ; and he has only to enact an additional clause, *rendering future dissent penal*, to obtain all he can desire in future.

For the rejection of this precedent Europe may well be grateful to King Ernest.

We have hitherto considered only the public grounds of this proceeding : but a private one is also mixed up with it. The German *Jura Agnatica*, or Rights of Relatives, expressly gives the Crown-property as Entail to the Heir Presumptive, and provides for his Consent in cases similar to the one before us. So jealously is this guarded, that it has been laid down as an obvious consequence of the foregoing, that *even a novel arrangement, or interference in this property, by the States, is a virtual alienation ; and consequently only binding on the successors when the entirety of the Family consent unto the same.*

In Hanover then, as in England, to cut off an Entail, in defiance of Protest from the next Heir, is decidedly illegal. Thus Private-Right as well as Public-Right was sacrificed by the Royal Patent of William IV. in 1833.

The establishment of the Fundamental Law being thus defective in Constituted Forms, and destructive in Constitutional tendency : rendering the Sovereign, in fact, sole judge of his own rights, and of those of his family ; master of the private property of his subjects and of their public voice in the States : the establishment, we repeat, is equally futile in itself, and fatal in its consequences. How then could the present King on his accession to the Throne publicly approve of what he publicly condemned ? He could not, we submit, agree to what he, in common with many, held to be a violation of his own and his subjects' rights. Instead of temporizing, instead of dissembling, he at once and openly appointed a Board of Inquiry into the operation and results of the obtruded law. The names of the Members are those of men of acknowledged skill in jurisprudence ; and the result of this moderate, and, in every sense, fair Constitutional proceeding was, a Report, showing the inelegibility of various provisions of the Fundamental Law, and the invalidity of its establishment. Hence issued the Royal Patent of Nov. 1, 1837, declaring its invalidity in fact and the abrogation of its mere form ; and announcing, farther, that a careful inquiry should be made into its provisions, and a comparison of these with the previously ex-

isting Constitution instituted by the States of the People, for the formation of a more legal system.

The Patent of last November is therefore the suspension of a despotic enactment, and an examination into its tendency: and the fact that the States are convoked for an immediate consideration of the question, exhibits nothing like an apprehension of popular opinion. The steps that seem to ourselves so hostile to Liberty are simply the very forms of the old Constitution, necessarily brought into play, when the fundamental law that superseded them was shown to be nugatory by the Commissioners of Inquiry. But these forms in Hanover are very different from the view taken of them elsewhere: the elder Governments of Germany are essentially, as we long since remarked, *Despotic Patriarchies*—where the voice of the sovereign is imperative, but his sway attenuated. If the Fundamental Law is nugatory therefore, the old forms must remain in force, or else the People be left without any Government till a new one is prepared.

Though the last Constitution therefore is nought in point of fact, the Repeal may be necessary as an Act of Form: there are abuses to be remedied even in the last: and amongst them surely the seizure and donation of private property by the Crown-Mandate of William IV. is not one of the least. The strangely anomalous position of the English and Hanoverian Ministers of the same Sovereign at the Diet is a striking proof of the mismanagement complained of: and that a system so fraught with doubts and uncertainty should be suspended till it can be constitutionally corrected by the joint labours and cooperation of the National Representatives and the Ministry, cannot, if calmly considered, be a matter of regret to any one not compromised by former acts.

With regard to the assumed displeasure of the Diet, it will suffice to say that not the slightest indication of any such feeling has yet appeared, and we would challenge proof of any grounds for the assertion: we know they do not exist, and that the King's present course is viewed there simply as *suspensory*, this being its real character. Equally and utterly untrue is, we positively assert, the allegation, that the King of Hanover consulted or acted by advice of any English conservative whatever, as to the course to be followed in his dominions.

We would remark too on a point upon which far greater stress has been laid than it seems to us to deserve; we mean the proceedings respecting the seven Gottingen Professors. We perceive that the protest of these justly eminent men does not turn upon the Constitutional right of the main question so much as on the point, whether, having accepted and sworn to one Constitution in 1833, they can, consistently with that oath, act under

the abrogation of the system. This, however important, is totally distinct from the main question, and is in fact a mere point of conscience for themselves. But the long interval between their protest and dismissal, is, in itself, an indicative of moderation on the Sovereign's part, and totally opposite to the feelings he is accused of entertaining. He seems, in truth, to have proceeded to the last act only when the example was becoming contagious through his clemency or supineness. The fact, or even the rumour, long since current in Germany, that Kiel had invited these Professors to her walls, proves that in the opinion of their warmest admirers the dismissal of the seven Professors was a natural consequence of their conduct, while the calumniated King of Hanover himself, wishing to shut his eyes to the whole proceeding, delayed it to the utmost, and has at length reluctantly yielded to the necessity of preserving subordination at home.

We would therefore recommend our readers to wait the result of the deliberations of the States; and not take assumptions for granted, and argue on them for improbable conclusions. Nothing is yet known, and nothing can be known of the future, till it comes to pass. To anticipate the results of uncommenced deliberations without one clue to the nature of those deliberations is an error, of reasoning we will not say, but of imagination and prejudice, of which we shall be most reluctant to accuse our countrymen.

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ART. IX.—*Reise nach dem Ural, dem Altai, und dem Kaspischen Meere auf befehl Sr. Majestät des Kaisers von Russland im Jahre 1829. ausgeführt von A. von Humboldt, G. Ehrenberg, und G. Rose. Mineralogisch-geognostischer Theil und historischer Bericht der Reise von G. Rose.* (Travels in the Ural, the Altai, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, by command of H. M. the Emperor of Russia, in the year 1829. By A. von Humboldt, G. Ehrenberg, and G. Rose. The Mineralogico-geognostic Portion and Historical Report of the Journey by G. Rose.)

*Mineralogisch-geognostische Reise nach dem Ural, dem Altai, und dem Kaspischen Meere von Gustav Rose. Erster Band. Reise nach dem nordlichen Ural und dem Altai. Mit Kupfern, Karten, und Holzschnitten.* (Mineralogico-geognostic travels in the Ural, the Altai, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. By Gustavus Rose. Vol. I.—Travels in the Northern Ural and Altai, with Copper-plates, Maps, and Wood-cuts.) Berlin, 1837.

THE objects of the journey, of which the volume before us affords us the first and a partial report, are too well understood

in Europe and the civilized world in general to render necessary any details in this article. To those who seek to inquire into its causes and particular objects, a full explanation is offered in the preface of this work, extracted from the writings of Von Humboldt. It may be requisite here to apprise the reader that the volume under consideration is not the production of the celebrated traveller himself, as a glance at the former title would induce him to believe ; but simply the scientific report of Mr. Rose, the first portion of which is now presented, and the contents of this part fully indicated by the second title at the head of this review. It is therefore necessarily less interesting to the world at large, and even to general science, than former details from the pen of M. A. von Humboldt ; but yet it is important in itself as affording not merely the positive facts of the expedition, but also as to a certain extent assisting us to form a distinct idea of the mineral productions of the Russian Empire ; and consequently, as well of the resources that country can command as of the inducements that may tend to divide her pursuit, of the objects of ambition now generally attributed to her, with more domestic acquisitions.

The long extent of the Russian dominions in Asia, bordering so many kingdoms of the latter, may be considered as a fortunate circumstance for science in the present instance, as opening a wide field for investigation by a European power, aided by the light of European intelligence, and by the regularity of an established European political system, into the mineral riches of a continent continually displaying unquestionable indications of affluence in that department of nature, but the levity of whose natives, and the instability of whose proper governments, have hitherto barred the researches of travellers in their own territory ; and this no less from the absence of every thing like security for the person, than from the want of every facility to bring their labours to an efficient termination. Through the long chain of communication thus opened from the West towards the East, we might look in vain for native governments competent to understand the utility of such labours, still less to commence, or even assist, the undertaking. The borders of the Turk and the Persian, overrun by fierce and uncivilized predatory tribes, display and insult the weakness of the respective governments ; yet these are established Asiatic powers : the Afghan, the Usbek, the Bucharian, like the Mongol and Manchew, possess even fewer elements for the task ; and though their cupidity can be easily excited, it is only by visible objects, the scanty and irregular spoils of plunder ; or, at best, a laborious and imperfect traffic.

In Persia, it is true, not many years since, awakened a partial anxiety to ascertain and cultivate the riches hidden beneath the

soil ; and some dispositions of the late enterprising and intelligent Prince, Abbas Mirza, led almost to an attempt to form a Company for Mining. But the desire of personal aggrandizement that might have led to some beneficial result gave way to the narrowness of personal interests of the hour in the individuals themselves ; and to this was superadded, not merely the sense of insecurity, so fatally verified shortly afterwards by the conquests of their northern neighbours, but also the obstacle of personal avarice in the Head of the State. European capital and enterprise were vainly sought at a moment when Europe was awaking to the ruin of American dreams ; and even the blindness of speculation at length felt the objections of want of wood and water, machinery, cattle, means of transit, subsistence, accommodation, and of roads ; and, more than all these, the dangerous vicinity of an all-grasping native Government, and of a still more dangerous, powerful, and incumbent European enemy.

If then in the hands of native Powers any possible approximation towards Mineralogical labours and discovery is utterly hopeless, it is only the two great European proprietors of the land that can undertake the task with any prospect of success. The chain of British research extends along the mighty range of the Himmalayeh, and links the recent province of Assam to the Indian Empire ; while Russia is actively exploring for the purposes of science, and perhaps of future dominion, the northern course of the Ural mountains and the eastward declension of the Altai : and thus the projecting arms of advancing civilisation approach, and may yet include or haply dissever the terrestrial portion of the territories of " the Son of Heaven."

We have dwelt somewhat largely upon this portion of the subject, for the facts in the volume before us open an entirely novel view of the possible destinies of Russia. In the alarm that has been so long and widely spread regarding the views of Catharine and her successors, though we rejoice to recognize the stern and suspicious mastiff-vigilance of the national spirit, watchful for its own independence in integrity, we have never fully participated in the belief of the practicability of those views to any very serious extent : and we are the less disposed to entertain such alarm when we examine the long protension of the Russian line into the heart of a wild and lawless nomade existence, whose cupidity will be increased in proportion to the riches discovered, and whose aggressive inroads will render indispensable an eternal chain of fortified posts ; which either by warfare or more gentle intercourse must necessarily disseminate a portion of civilization amongst them. Thus, while the dominion of the predominating Power is gradually consolidating itself, it will likewise tend to

improve its ruder neighbours in the very arts most formidable to its own extension ; and the years, perhaps ages, that must elapse before either party can securely maintain an ascendancy dangerous beyond their length of frontier, will surely give time for remoter nations, such as now acknowledge our own dominion or influence, to offer the firm barrier of civilised communities to the already anticipated aggression.

We have thrown out these remarks, as naturally suggested by the circumstances ; and shall hereafter return to a more careful and prolonged consideration of the question : but for the present article we must confine ourselves to the peculiar information afforded by the volume immediately before us, and in the shape rather of a digest of the most material and interesting points throughout, than of partial extracts from passages ; since those to whom the details are of superior interest will naturally recur to the book itself and the Chart of the Ural chain which accompanies it. For something beyond mere science, we must wait, we fear, for details from M. A. von Humboldt himself.

This accomplished-traveller had it seems been requested in the year 1829 by M. de Cancrin, (the Russian Minister of Finance) and to whom the present volume is dedicated, to give his opinion as to the eligibility of a coinage of Platina from the Ural and its relative value to gold and silver. He had already been applied to by the Spanish Government on the same subject ; and a proposal had also been made by some private individuals to the Congress of Vienna to introduce the new metal into circulation by a coinage supported and recognized by Government authority. The doubts entertained by M. von Humboldt of the eligibility of the measure proposed to him, have not, he candidly states, been justified by the result ; though possibly the moderation of the issue and the great extent of the Empire lessened or averted altogether the anticipated mischiefs. But the confidence and esteem of the Russian Government was no way diminished towards the eminent philosopher by this occurrence. On the contrary, happening in the course of the correspondence to express his wish to visit the Ural Mountains and compare them with the Andes chain of New Grenada, he received an invitation from the Emperor Nicholas to undertake the journey at the Imperial expense. As he was then (December, 1827,) engaged in giving public lectures, he was allowed to fix his own time for the expedition as well as to select his companions ; and in 1829 he accordingly set out with Professor Ehrenberg of Berlin, the celebrated botanist, and Professor Rose, the Mineralogist, author of the volume before us. The direction and objects of the journey were left to M. von Humboldt's own discretion ; he shared the

scientific investigations with his two learned associates; nor, judging from the manner in which Professor Rose has executed his portion of the task—the only one that has yet appeared—could the labour have devolved into abler hands.

The Minister of Finance made all due provision for the undertaking, with regard to the various expenses. Carriages, couriers, and from 15 to 20 post-horses were placed at the travellers' disposal: a military escort was provided for their safety, and even a selection of residences for their accommodation. They were attended also by an officer of the Mines who spoke French and German; nothing was neglected to insure their comfort; and every promise made to them was fulfilled in the course of the undertaking. The Southern provinces of Russia, including Mount Ararat, were also offered for their investigation; but this did not enter into their plan.

Sixteen months after his return from this journey (of 14,500 versts, or 2000 geographical miles of 6,955 versts each—the German geographical mile is about two hours,) M. von Humboldt, in February 1831, received a second offer from the Russian Government, to visit at choice either Finland or the Caucasus: but he was prevented by circumstances from accepting it.

The Author with his fellow-labourers, MM. von Humboldt and Ehrenberg, quitted Berlin on the 12th April, 1829; and took their course through Königsberg and Dorpat, Estonia, and Livonia, to Petersburg. The details of the journey are not unamusing, and are interspersed with observations more immediately relating to the Mineralogy of the country. At Königsberg and the neighbouring towns the sea-shore is almost a forbidden ground to the inhabitants, being farmed at a high rate, and jealously watched; so that the fisherman can only put to sea at certain prescribed points of the coast; and the loiterer who is found in the prohibited places incurs annoyance and detention. The value of the Amber may be judged from the fact, that the coast between Dantzig and Memel is let to a Mr. Douglas for 10,000 dollars per annum. His magazine contained 150,000 lbs. of this precious commodity; greatly deteriorated, it would seem, in price, by the political and other changes in Turkey, formerly the chief consumer. It was kept in rooms vaulted and secured with iron doors, to guard against fire, it being highly inflammable.

At Petersburg the author enters more into detail. The district itself, the rich Mineralogical collections of the Capital, and the size and splendour of the Crown Jewels, naturally excited a strong interest. He gives a plate of the diamonds, drawn of their proper size, as the most distinguished gems of that extraordinary collection. The one on the top of the Imperial Sceptre weighs 194*1*/<sub>2</sub>

carats, and its largest diameter is one inch 3½ lines. It long adorned the throne of Nadir Shah, and was bought with other jewels from the Afghan plunderer by M. Schafrass, an Armenian, at Bagdat for 50,000 piastres. Catherine II. purchased it twelve years afterwards at the price of 450,000 silver rubles and a patent of nobility.

Professor Rose, like every other stranger, is much struck with the magnificent proportions of St. Petersburg. This is not surprising: its scale of building so far exceeds London, Edinburgh, and Calcutta, that the first impression must necessarily surpass that made by any city inferior to it in this respect. But the excitement is soon diminished by a totally opposite feeling. The first admiration subsided, those splendid façades of gigantic palaces and enormous vistas that mock the common dimensions of usefulness, offer only houses which no inhabitants can fill, and streets that no crowd can throng. It is neither a city nor a solitude. Man is there indeed, but his utmost numbers dwindle into scattered groups of diminutive pygmies that haunt and infest the scenes they cannot inhabit. In contrast to the Public edifices of former ages, mere art is mighty, man seems nothing; lost in that giant display, shorn of his just importance, and no longer the lord of creation nor the master of his own work. Petersburg strikes the mind as an emblematic miniature of Russian Empire and ambition:—its designs too vast for human achievement, too exaggerated for social life: its long Perspective, the gorgeous high-road of dreaming imagination, spreading out towards a something, which yet is nothing, and never can be more. When Russia shall produce giants Petersburg will be their lofty dwelling-place; while she produces but men they seem strangers in their own capital:—and such have been her views; mistaking magnitude for might, ambition for vigour, and enlargement for concentration. Yet it is splendid.

They left Petersburg June 20th with a Russian mining officer as guide, a courier, and a cook; the latter a most indispensable attendant, since at the stations beyond Moscow travellers are obliged to cook for themselves in the kitchens. In the larger towns, where the wealthier citizens receive strangers, the traveller is directed by the police to one of those in his turn: and Siberian hospitality, offering a lodging, not unfrequently includes board also. The new Arsenal of the Kremlin at Moscow contains the crowns, sceptre, throne, arms, and jewels of the Russian Czars, with a variety of other costly curiosities, forming, we are told, a larger, a more extraordinary and precious collection than perhaps can be found elsewhere: exceeding in value even that of the Jewel

Office in London, estimated at 2,000,000 pounds sterling. In the Zoological Museum is preserved a large tiger killed in Siberia, where it seems they sometimes wander from the South; the discovery of their bones in these regions therefore must not always be looked upon as connected with past phenomena.

At Kasan the Tatars form one-third of a population of about 50,000 souls. They live chiefly by trade, and have there several manufactories of soap and leather, which are much valued and in great demand. They sailed hence down the Volga to Bolgarü, a village beyond Bolghar, the capital of the ancient Volga-Bulgarians, and the largest and oldest ruins in the Russian empire. Here they were received by the whole population of the village drawn up on the bank of the river; and the Elders, after the Russian fashion, presented salt and bread to M. von Humboldt. They found among the ruins of the town traces of the water-pipe, and even specimens of Arabesque ornament on the walls, of a Bath. Silver and copper coins, copper rings, earrings, &c. are frequently found and offered freely for sale. These Bulgarians formed in the 7th century an independent people, extending from the East bank of the Volga to the Caspian Sea, and constantly at war with the Russians: Klaproth and Frähr suppose their name to have been derived from the river. This we accept only as a modern derivative, the termination *ar* (unexplained hitherto) being, we suggest, a dialectical possessive, originally of Royalty. We need not dwell upon the Historical details furnished of this race, but must content ourselves with noticing a rather singular law, venerable doubtless for its antiquity, and which possibly was needed to no great extent; namely, *that of hanging all especially clever persons*. This munificent reward of distinguished talent was instituted less, we presume, for the encouragement of merit than for the reason assigned by an Eastern traveller:—That such persons were most acceptable in the presence and for the immediate service of the Deity!

Professor Rose gives the following account of the correct meaning of the much mooted word *Tatar*, on the authority of M. von Humboldt.

In the Russian dominions, the term *Tatar* always refers to a Turkish race, and these do not present the Mongol features. The Tatars of the Crimea, of Kasan, and of Tobolsk, belong to what is called the Caucasian family: Tatars are Turks; but, the former appellation originally with Asiatic writers referred to the Mongols. This last word, in the Chinese vocabularies compiled in the 15th century under the Ming Dynasty at Pekin, is translated by *Tata* or *Tataeul*: the *r* being constantly substituted for *l* in Chinese. The incorrect application of the word *Tatar*, which

signifies a Mongol (Mohu, Mongu), to the noble Turkish race, originated in the Mongol invasion. When Djedji, son of Zinghis Khan, overran the north west of Asia and the east of Europe, the Turks between the Volga and the Dnieper fell under Mongol dominion. The Princes of Kipchak, which reached from the Dniester to the Jemba in the Kirghis steppe, called themselves Tatars or Mongols; though tradition affirms that Zinghis, the head of the Khalkas or Calcha-Mongols, was of Turkish blood, and that the mother of Timour was a Turkish woman. The Khans who ruled Kasan, Astrachan, and the Crimea, after the division of Zinghis' Kingdom, were called Tatars; their subjects and soldiers were principally Turks. They themselves soon adopted the Turkish language, and hence arose the custom of confounding the rulers with their subjects, under the Tatar name. Alluding to the well-known pun of St. Louis, of sending the Tatars to their Tatarean realms, the author adds: In like manner the first Spanish discoverers of America, from the dog-like character of the Caribs, altered their proper name Carina or Calina into the word cannibal.

"In the last half century, (he proceeds), the confusion of Tatar and Turk has increased amongst the best writers, such as Meiner, Adelung, and Cuvier. Remusat, who, with Klaproth, had determined the original identity of the Mongols and Tatars, proposed to confine the latter appellation to the former race. But in the utter commixture of the Northern tribes to use Tatar as a generic name, would lead but to further confusion, as if we were to distinguish *Deutschen* from *Teutschen*.

"When we speak of Tatar features, understanding by it a certain inclination of the angle of the eye and projecting cheek bones, this certainly is justified by the identity of the Mongols and Tatars: but the Russian Tatars have, like the Turks and Indo-Germanic races, a Caucasian physiognomy. The Tatars of Kasan and Tobolsk are by no means Tataric in the proper sense of the word, nor is it so applied to the Mongol races, the Kalmucks, Sungari, Torguts and Burats."

We have not time to enter here upon the wide field of discussion which these remarks open to us; and shall content ourselves for the present with observing, that the Chinese vocabularies of the 15th century are of little value in identifying a race so ancient as the Tatars: the meaning of their name, though overlooked or forgotten, is surely not lost to the learned research of Europe; and certainly bears no affinity whatever to the sense of the word Mongol. On the contrary it has its precise equivalent of meaning in the language of every oldest race in existence, and of these alone,—but the question would lead too far, and we must return to it hereafter. The Chinese word Tataeul, is obviously

a compound, and not the mere substitution of the final *r* by *erl.* But for the original word, we are satisfied for the moment to take it, as it is usually received, with a comparatively modern derivation; from a prince or a river, like the instance in the preceding paragraph, till we have an opportunity of showing, as we trust to be able to do, whence it really originated.

On the way to Perm, the travellers first fell in with a party of exiles destined for Siberia, and consisting of from 60 to 80 women and girls. They were unfettered, consequently not of the worst class of criminals; for these last are all fastened by one hand to a long rope. Each party is escorted by Bashkirs armed and mounted in their usual fashion.

At Malmisch they found the Post-master imbued with a taste for Mineralogy; large quantities of teeth and bones of the Mammoth, found on the banks of the Wjatka, lay before and even within his house.

The forest in the neighbourhood is composed of Pines and Firs (*Pinus abies et sylvestris*) and extends two days' journey. Conflagrations are frequent; and sometimes for miles together nothing is seen but charred trunks of trees. The negligence of travellers and shepherds is the cause here as elsewhere; but wood of course is of no value in these districts.

At the large village of Werchne-Mulinsk are large copper-mines belonging to Count Polier: the copper ores obtained and smelted here are termed sand-ores (*Sanderze*) and are found on the oldest layers of white Sandstone. This Sandstone formation on the Western side of the Ural is of great extent, not only in the Government of Perm, but of Wjatka and Orenburg also; and mining proceeds on many points along the banks of the Wjatka, Kama, Dioma, and Sakmara. On the East side, however, it is not to be found, and the celebrated copper-mines of Gumeschewsk, Nischne-Tagilsh, and Bogoslowsk, offer a totally different arrangement.

The Beroswaja-Gora, not very far from the village of Nowaja-Alexejewskaya, approaches to within four versts distance of the small river Rascheta, which flows into the Isset, and thus communicates with the Tobol, Irtish, and Ob; so inconsiderable is the mountain-chain between the Tschussowaja and the Rascheta, that a canal has been already projected of four versts in length, to unite, not only the two rivers, but, in fact, the Icy and Caspian Seas.

The Mineralogical Collections at Katharinenburg were not extensive, but extremely interesting as consisting principally of Uralian Minerals. In the vicinity are establishments for Gold

washing; and a grain of the gold analysed at Schabrowskoi contained the following proportions—

Gold	98-96
Silver	0-16
Copper	0-35
Iron	0-05
	99-52

The average of the lower strata of sand, and these are the richest, affords from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 Solotnik in 100 Poods of sand, or 0,0005 per cent.; a proportion apparently small; but, considering the facility of procuring and washing, it is in reality large. The expense of washing is 2-3rds the cost of the gold; so that in a pood the expense is 20,000 rubles, its value being about 50,000. rubles. It is requisite, however, to observe that in 1828, the cost at Katharinenburg was considerably diminished:—the gold there contains also about 7 per cent. of silver. At Schabrowski are the principal establishments for washing gold of the whole Ural. The process is simple, and the quantity obtained depends on the skill employed. Great improvement has been made of late years in the art; and the gold-sand of former times has been latterly subjected to another operation.

From Katharinenburg to the North Works is nearly level, though so near the Ural; which, however, is of no great height here, but rises towards Kuschwinsk. The country presents little variety, and the general uniformity is increased by the continuous forest, which covers all the declivities along the course of the road.

Nischne Tagilsk, and the whole district, of about 8000 square versts, belongs to the Demidoff family, though none of them reside there now. Their ancestor, Nikita Demidoff, a simple smith at Tula, received, in the year 1702, the recently discovered magnetic hill (Magnet-berg), and the iron-forges of Newjansk, as a present from Peter the Great, and founded Nischne Tagilsk, and the numerous works in its vicinity. His son, Akimfisch Demidoff, Councillor of State, materially enlarged the works; and his successors have considerably increased them, particularly Nicolas Nikitisch, the father of the present brothers Demidoff; so that the town, in 1826, contained 3000 houses and 17,000 inhabitants: the population of the district is 28,000. There is scarcely a place in the world so rich in ores as Nischne-Tagilsk: at two versts distance stands the celebrated Magnetberg, which supplies all the surrounding forges with ore;

and in the immediate vicinity copper-ores, not inferior to that of Gumeschewskoi, were discovered in 1812. Subsequently, mines of gold and platina have been worked there; the latter incomparably superior in richness to the rest of the Ural.

The general features of the mountains continue much the same till about fifteen versts from Tscherno-Istotschinsk, where a plateau of about 1140 feet high separates the waters of Europe and Asia. On the East arise the springs of the Bobrowka, a rivulet flowing into the Tagil; and on the west those of the Wissim, which flow into the Utka and Tschussowaja. About the centre of the plateau, towards the right, stands a lofty pine, with the words Asia and Europe carved severally on the right and left sides. The stone composing this plateau is principally thin laminated hornblend (*dünnschiefriger Hornblendschiefer*), consisting of finely rayed hornblend, with white feldspar or albit. To the west of this elevation, and south of the road, are six platina works, in small vallies, within a space of ten versts.

The principal chain of the Ural through the district of Kuschwinsk consists of laminated talc and chlorite, running perpendicularly from north to south, or at an acute angle towards the east. The rock is scarcely perceptible, being every where overlaid with wood, earth, and marsh: such is the general feature of the country.

At Kuschwinsk the travellers parted from Count Polier, who was proceeding to his estates on the Koiva, in the western declivity of the Ural. They had intended accompanying him to see his gold and iron works, but the direct path was only practicable on horseback; and another route would have caused too great a loss of time. They therefore abandoned the idea.

This separation unfortunately prevented their being present at the important discovery to which the journey of Count Polier led; though the Count did not long survive the fatigues of the aforesaid journey, which Dr. Rose considers to have brought on a fatal disease of the lungs. It may be worth while to dwell upon the particulars of this discovery, since the diamond was long considered the product only of tropical climates; while its occurrence so high as the 59th deg. of latitude, has excited the greatest interest, establishing it as a Russian and European stone also. Several errors, too, have arisen in the accounts of this event, which Dr. Rose thinks it necessary to correct; as his party were for a time the companions of the discoverers, Mr. Schmidt and Count Polier.

Von Humboldt had already, in his *Essai Geognostique sur le gisement des Roches*, published in 1823, directed attention to the

singular analogy of mineralogical characteristics in certain different parts of the globe, as regards platina and gold-sand. Thus at Corrego, in Brazil, gold, platina, palladium, and diamonds are found together; near Tejuco gold and diamonds; and platina and diamonds near the river Abaste. These remarks had excited a strong expectation of finding diamonds in the Ural, not only in his own breast, but also, and still earlier, in Professor Engelhardt and in M. Mamyscheff, the director of the mining works at Goroblagodatsch. On our travellers' arrival at any one of the works, they subjected the gold-sand to microscopic observations, in order to find out the accompanying substances of gold and platina, and directed their principal researches to the diamond. We always, says Dr. Rose, procured a quantity of gold-sand to be partially washed, so as to get rid of the lighter portion, and enable us better to examine the remainder. To carry the process too far would be losing with the quartz the lighter unmetallic substances, and there would remain with the gold and platina only magnetic iron ore, and sometimes chrome-iron-ore (*Magneteisenerz und Chromeisenerz*). By these microscopic examinations we were so fortunate as to find chrystals unknown in the gold-sand of the Ural, and which attracted our notice most strongly, as they occur with the diamond in the gold-sand of Brazil. We almost every where discovered small zircons, which by their diamond-like brilliancy frequently deceived us; and at Nischne Tagilsk we found anatase. But our search for the diamond was vain, and though the discovery was made by Count Polier and M. Schmidt on the western slope of the mountain, on the 5th July (O. S.), but four days after our parting from them, we obtained the intelligence only on the 3rd September, at Miask, after travelling through a great part of Siberia. Count Polier sent M. Schmidt from Nischne-Novgorod, with one of the discovered diamonds, to M. Von Humboldt, requesting him not to render the discovery public till our arrival at Petersburg; inasmuch as he himself had not yet presented one to the sovereign. The diamond so sent to M. von Humboldt is now in the museum at Berlin. So confident, in fact, had this learned traveller felt of the approaching discovery that, in quitting Petersburg, he had jestingly declared to the Empress that he would not return without Russian diamonds. On our return to that capital, in November, the Emperor alone had seen Polier's diamonds; and M. Von Humboldt was the first to show one to the Empress. A circumstantial report of the discovery was made by the Count on his return to Petersburg to M. Cancrin, minister of finance, and communicated also

to M. Humboldt. The publication of this document is due to the deceased nobleman; the more, as a letter on the same subject, intended for M. Arago, and to be inserted in the *Annales de Chimie*, remains unfinished. We condense some passages of this report. Count Polier says,

“Strongly impressed with the ideas of Von Humboldt, I parted from him on the 1st July, and inspected fruitlessly all the works for gold washing near Bissersk, till I came to the last, about 25 versts from that place. On the 5th July (O. S.) I entered this with M. Schmidt, a young mineralogist of Freyberg; and the same day, in the sand brought before me, amongst a quantity of iron chrystals and quartz, appeared the first diamond of the Ural. It had been found the day before by Paul Popoff, a boy of fourteen, employed in the works, a native of the village of Kalinskoje. As a reward was promised to those who should discover any valuable stones, he hastened with his unrecognized prize to the overseer; who, however, attached no value to the stone, and, taking it for a topaze, placed it with the other minerals for my inspection. Its transparency was perfect; and this, and its brilliance, would have satisfied us of its being a diamond, even had its rounded chrySTALLisation left us any doubt of the fulfilment of Humboldt’s prophecy. Within three days afterwards a second was found by another boy; and, a few days subsequent to my departure from the works, I received a third, larger than the two others put together.

“M. Schmidt had all the requisite instruments for mineralogy at hand to examine the three chrystals, and verify the discovery. We first took the specific gravity—the two former gems weighed together 3,520; the exact medium between the extremes assigned by mineralogists as the specific gravity of the diamond; these are 3, 4. & 3, 6. The absolute weight of the first was 0,105, or something more than half a carat: of the second 0,132; and of the third 0,253, or about 1½ carat:—205 millegrammes make one carat. The specific weight of the third was 3,514. We were therefore certain that the hardness of these stones was superior to that of quartz, which they scratched easily, and the korundum had no effect on them. But the smallness of these diamonds, and their rounded corners, prevented our scratching the last-named stone with them. The second of these diamonds we sent at once to M. von Humboldt; for it was but just that he to whom the discovery was principally owing should be the first apprized of it.

“It only remains for me to give a description of the spot where the discovery was made. I could have wished to forward a specimen of the sand, and the kinds of rock forming its basis, but

have not yet received them. The works are the property of my wife, the Princess Schakowskoi, and form part of the lands appertaining to the works at Bissersk. They are about 25 versts N. E. of this place; more than 200 versts E. of Perm; and about 70 N. W. of Kuschwinsk. They can be reached only on horse-back, by an execrable path from the village of Kalinskoje, near to Tschussowaja. There is in winter a tolerably good road for sledges transporting wood, coals, ores, and founded and forged iron; which latter articles are produced in the works."

The first discovery and exploration of the gold-sand occurred in 1824, but has, until now, been unattended with any material advantage; either on account of the bad state of the machinery and management, or from the poverty of the sand, which required a more economical process.

At a short distance,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  verst S. of Krestowosdwischenskoi, are other works, which have recently furnished gold at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Solotnik to the 100 poods of Sand. This sand is richer the deeper it goes, and its mineralogical basis the same as the former works, but with a larger proportion of rock-chrystral and flint-iron, mixed in the lower portions with chalk-stone forming its base, and with much quartz. Between two such masses was found the first diamond of the Ural; the others were discovered in the same works.

Professor Engelhardt, from whom, in 1826, the first hint of the existence of Diamond in the Ural was confessedly derived, was led by this *brilliant* confirmation to undertake a second journey there in 1830, and he states that the diamonds, though small, are not inferior in beauty and value to the Brazilian.

In the Professor's opinion, the boy's discovery has been even more advantage to himself than to his employer; as the latter has gained but precious stones, the former that more precious jewel, his liberty, and a sum of money given him by his master. The result of Professor Engelhardt's researches gives, amongst other interesting matter, a probability that *the hitherto unascertained parent-stone of the Diamond is, in all likelihood, a black Dolomite.* The chemical analysis of Professor Göbelt, of Dorpat, and the specimens of this stone from the Ural, as well as those discovered by Professor Engelhardt in the Government of Olonetz, give room to imagine that *diamonds may be found in this latter district also.*

We must refer our readers to Dr. Rose's volume for the details of the component parts of the soil that produces the diamond, of which, it appears, however, only thirty-seven had been found up to July, 1833. Some of these had flaws within, and others, black spots, probably from the coal formation.

In Brazil the component parts of the Diamond-sand were observed by Eschwege. We give the details below,\* and he himself has frequently seen Diamonds in the substance† that compacts the portions of Quartz.

The Oriental Diamond, we find it stated by Ritter, (Erdkunde von Asien :) is found over a large extent of the borders of the table-land of the Deccan, from the 14th to the 25th degree of latitude. The diamond there is found in a loose, conglomerated sandstone, of but a few feet, and more or less deep beneath the surface, but everywhere overlaid by a hard sandstone. The conglomerate consists of grains of Quartz, Hornstone, Jasper, Chalcedony, Cornelian, and Brown iron-ore. Gold is also found there occasionally, for example, at Sumbhalpoor, but no Platina. Of the diamonds of Borneo, we know only that they are found in gold-sand; and respecting those of Algiers, we possess scarcely any information.

Professor Göbel has furnished the proportions of the above-mentioned Black Dolomite which, in the valley of Adolphskoi, forms the base of the diamond-bearing gold-sand.

Carbonate of Lime	..	..	..	54,00
————— and Talc	..	..	..	26,89
————— iron	..	..	..	10,21
Aluminous Earth	..	..	..	0,50
Water	..	..	..	1,20
in Hydrated muriates	..	..	..	
Residuum (insoluble)	..	..	..	7,50
				100,30

This Residuum contains

Clay	..	..	..	1,25
Oxide of iron	..	..	..	1,25
————— of manganese	..	..	..	0,75
Chalk-stone Flint	..	..	..	4,00
Coal	..	..	..	0,75
				8,00

An examination of the minerals found in the gold-sand affording diamond, is of the greatest importance. A comparison of these with the mineralogical specimens of the neighbouring mountains will give the first indication of the original bed of this valuable gem. In the Ural, as in India, Brazil, and elsewhere, their proper birth-place is totally unknown; but the first offers the strongest hopes of obtaining the requisite information. The

\* Quartz, Clay-slate and Talc, Brown-iron-ore, Iron-mica, Jasper, Chalcedony, Cyanite, Chryso-beryl, Anatase, Gold, and Platina.

† Brown-iron-ore.

opinions of those who have most closely examined the question, agree that the diamond is to be sought in the dolomite, forming the diamond-bearing gold-sand.

Katschkanar is celebrated for its powerful magnets, and for the emerald-green mineral called by Dr. Hess *Uwarowit*. It does not melt by the blow-pipe, and changes neither its colour nor appearance in heat: but it is slowly soluble with borax, (when it forms a green glass,) or by pulverized phosphorus. While hot the colour is brown, but it becomes green as it cools.

The forests clothing the sides of the Ural along the way-side consisted of pine, larch, cedar, with some birch and poplars. Larch and cedar succeed best in the marshy grounds. The under-wood of the pine-forests was formed of wild roses (*rosa canina*) in full bloom, with *lonicera*, *xylosteum*, and *juniper*, agreeably contrasting their dark green shade with the light hue of the birches. These last were a variety of the white birch, with heart-shaped leaves, and no ancient stems were to be seen amongst them. Of shrubs were found the *Atragine Alpina* with its large white flowers, indicative of a high latitude, though these had been met with also near Katharinenburg; the *Hesperis matronalis* and *Polemonium caeruleum*; the latter especially luxuriant in damp spots, and, with the former, ornamenting the gardens in Germany. On the Kakwa bloomed the *Cartusa Mathioli*, a German mountain plant, (*Alpenpflanze*,) and also specimens of the *Primula cartusoides*, much cultivated in Germany. On the heights of Bogoslowsk grew the German *Mespilus cotoneaster* near the Siberian *Delphinium cuneatum* and *Corydalis Siberica*. In the morasses of the lower ground flourished the German *Menyanthes trifoliata*, *Andromeda polifolia* and *calyculata*, the *Oxycoco minus*, and *Rubus chamaemorus*, a dwarf willow, nearly related to the English *Salix cotinifolia*, (*phylicifolia*, L. ?)

The richness and beauty of the plants contrasted strongly with the poverty of the *Fauna*. In the search for beasts of the chase, they met with but two or three birds, and occasionally a small hare or squirrel. No warbling was heard: chiefly small hawks (*Falco tinnunculus* and *rufipes*); here and there the *Saxicola rubetra*; at Bogoslowsk a finch (*Pyrgita melanictera*); but no sparrows nor wagtails, the feathered cosmopolitan accompaniments of man and civilization.

The excessive vegetation of plants abounding in sap, was the cause of an extreme nuisance in the infinite multitude of gnats, from which defence was impossible. The inhabitants wear over their faces nets steeped in birch tar, the smell of which keeps off the intruders; or else they carry on their backs pots filled with decayed wood or smoking birch-fungus, as this smoke does not

affect the eyes. The travellers, however, suffered severely, being wholly unprepared, and had no resource but fast-driving through the current of air (the usual remedy, we would observe, in such dilemmas throughout the East); but every time they stopped they were subjected to it; and the horses suffered still more than the men. The peasants employed in mending the roads had lighted fires for their protection, and preferred, whenever they could pause from labour, holding their heads in the thick smoke to suffering the attacks of these insects.

The district of Bogoslowsk produces gold in abundance: at Petropaulowsk a specimen was obtained, weighing 655 grammes—it was in long thread-like stripes, and therefore probably somewhat porous. Its weight, in its simple state, was 16,869: when beaten, 17,109: and smelted, 16,964. A portion of it, weighing 2,473, subjected to analysis, afforded

Silver	13,19
Gold	86,51
Copper, iron, and waste	0,90
	100,00

The rest of the piece was only essayed for the silver contained.

Silver	13,03
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This quantity is very remarkable.

On the road to Mürsinsk, turmalin, topaz, beryl, and amethyst occur continually with other chrysitals. The colours vary in depth, but that of the amethyst is inferior to those of Ceylon.

About fourteen versts from Katharinenburg, an Englishman named *Major* has established a steam-engine manufactory for the Ural in a romantic spot. Subsequent to the travellers' visit, in the sand of this neighbourhood were found, in the year 1831, two of the diamonds previously referred to, one of which was sent by the younger *Major*, after his father's death, to the Mining Academy at Petersburg.

Near Kamyschloff, the commencement of the Siberian plain, the eastward slope of the Uralian steeps is extremely gradual, sinking only 526 feet in a distance of 123 versts; nor are there any parallel mountain chains, as in the northern Harz. A journey along the smooth road therefore can afford little geognostic information. About 85 versts from Katharinenburg *Phenakite* and *Emerald* are found, near the granite rocks on the right bank of the Tekowaja. The presence of *Emeralds* was first detected by a peasant cutting wood in the neighbourhood, who was attracted by their lustrous sparkling amongst the *mica* where the ground had been opened by the uprooting of a tree blown down by the wind. He collected a quantity and brought them for sale to Ka-

tharinenburg, where they were noticed by M. Kokawin, who made further excavations and sent specimens to Petersburg. One of these, presented by his Imperial Majesty to M. von Humboldt, is now in the Berlin collection. These emeralds are distinguished by their extraordinary size. One in the mountain-specimen collection at St. Petersburg is eight inches long and five inches diameter: the chrystals are of a hexagonal prism, slightly rounded at the sides, and the extremities flat.

The *Phenakite*, till then unknown, was first detected by Norderskiold in 1833, amongst a number of other minerals sent to him by the Vice-President Peroffsky. They, like the emerald, accompany *Mica*, and are occasionally from one to two inches in length; they chrystallize also in regular hexagonal prisms, are hard like jewels, transparent but white, and therefore unfit for ornament like the emerald, but more interesting in their chemical composition.\* They have subsequently been found at Framont, near Strasburg, in brown iron ore, by M. Beirich.

The banks of the Tura abound in Elephants' teeth, not only near Tjumen, but also to beyond Kamyschloff, often in fine preservation. On the Suwarysch, a small branch of the Isset, near the village of Odina, are found these and other remains of elephants, and sometimes of buffaloes, scattered through the soil.

At Tobolsk they made the acquaintance of M. Wiljaminoff (a name of some notoriety now in the Circassian war), a well-informed and scientific man and Governor-General of West Siberia. From the upper part of the town they had an excellent view of the lower portion and the whole left bank of the Irtish. The height of the upper town is 200 feet above the lower, but the ascent is extremely gradual by a road of planks through a cleft in the mountains, and is traversed even by carriages of all kinds. The prospect from the summit is very simple, but grand. The semicircular sweep of the river forms the principal feature; in front, towards the right, is the lower town; beyond the stream a large green plain extends to the horizon, its uniformity broken only by the Tobol glancing here and there along, and by a few scattered Russian and Tatar villages, mostly near streams; the latter distinguishable from the former by their vicinity to small leafy woods, (contradistinguished, we must remark, from the cypress and other trees of the kind by their foliage,) that shade their cemeteries.

At Tobolsk, where M. von Humboldt continued the astronomical observations made by Chappe D'Auteroche, Hansteen,

\* According to the analysis of Hartwall, two-thirds of Beryl in matrix contain 4447 of this last substance, which enters into the composition of few minerals but the Emerald and Beryl.

and Erman, he found the inclination of the magnetic needle 70.55.6; the longitude and latitude exactly as stated by Erman, and calculated by Enke from Chappe's observations.

This town had been originally laid down as the easternmost point of the journey; but the facility and speed of their progress through the northern Ural induced M. von Humboldt to extend his researches to the Altai, as little had been known of it since the time of Pallas, Renovantz, and Hermann; and the observations of Ledebour and his companions, in all probability referring chiefly to Botany, were still unpublished. The Governor-General strongly supported the scheme, and though the distance was 1500 versts, along the steppe, from Tobolsk to Barnaul, bordering on the Altai, it might be traversed within the time first prescribed for their undertaking, but every moment was precious. They provided themselves with the cap-nets for defence against the gnats; still more needful there than in the Ural. The principal road passes across the steppe, through Zara and Kainsk to Tomsk, with villages at the different stations.

Along the whole way the soil was excellent, being firm and black, cultivated near the villages, and everywhere covered with tall herbage, interspersed only with groups of birch and poplar. Between the Wagai and the Ischen whole tracts were reddened by the *Epilobium angustifolium*, in full blossom; others were blue with the *Delphinium elatum*, growing high and compact. The fire-red *Lychnis Chalcedonica* was also frequent. The peasants in the villages appeared wealthy, and our travellers' temporary abode in the village Ribina, on the Ajeff, was strikingly neat and clean. The heat, under an unclouded sky, was considerable, reaching at noon 24 Reaumur: the water of the Irtish was also warm, being 19 near the convent of Abalak, on the 24th July; and a smaller stream, on the 25th, showed a temperature of 20.9. The river Ajeff, on the 21st at noon, was 19.4, the air being 24.6; but the water of the wells, owing to the low temperature of the soil, was extremely cold. At Basckshewa, the first station from Tobolsk, the water of a common well, free from ice, was 2°; of one at Ribina, 2.5. Similar grades were found everywhere in the wells and springs of Siberia, which is no slight luxury to the inhabitants during the great heats.

At Omsk begins the steppe of Barabinsk, which reaches from the Irtish to the Ob. Far from being dry and hard, as is generally imagined, it abounds with small lakes, marshes, and rivers flowing into the Om, Irtish, and Ob. The soil is sometimes flat and level as the sea, sometimes covered with vegetation, and birch and poplar; in other places it abounds in salt: some of the lakes of this steppe are also salt. From the marshy

ness of the ground it is often bridged over for a long distance. Owing to the jolting of the carriage, and the torture of the incessant stinging of the gnats, one of Fortin's barometers, held in the hand, was broken here.

Reaching, July 29th, Kainsk on the Om, about the middle of the steppe, they there, for the first time, heard of the Siberian plague (*Pest*) raging in the neighbouring villages. The medical man who brought the news could afford little information, but it subsequently appeared that it was an epidemic amongst cattle, attacking also men; and prevailing in the steppe, but never in the mountains. It commences with an indurated swelling in men, forming chiefly on the uncovered parts of the body, as the face, neck, and arms: the disorder is generally ascribed to the stings of insects, and cannot be more particularly accounted for. The swelling proceeds to a black and burning suppuration, and fever and death shortly ensue. By incisions, and cataplasms of sal-ammoniac and tobacco in the commencement, the induration is got rid of, and the cure performed: but if the disorder has made any progress inwardly, it is incurable. Such are the supposed facts of the case.

The travellers took all possible precautions to avoid contact with the peasants, even to refraining from sleep at the halting-places. In every village they found traces of the malady; in one four persons, in another six died in one day; and 500 horses fell victims to the epidemic, so that they could hardly procure the means of continuing their route. In each village they found a small lazaretto for the patients, who were submitted to the above-mentioned treatment; and at the two extremities of each hamlet were smoky fires of dry turf and dung, in order to purify the air. They could not imagine, it seems, how these scattered fumigations should arrest or avert the progress of the disorder: but if it arose from the assigned cause, insects, we should think this not very difficult to divine; and that such was the general impression amongst the natives, appears from the fact stated immediately afterwards; for the same expedient was resorted to, doubtless from former experience, and as a preventative, in those parts of the Siberian plain which they passed before the disorder was developed there. They lost its traces in quitting the steppe. We must observe, that on the day when they first heard of the epidemic the sky was overcast, with flashes of lightning, but on the following the weather cleared up and became bright and serene.

We are now come to the last chapter, the entrance to the Altai mountains; and the importance of these appears from their produce, consisting principally of silver, of which a larger quantity is obtained here than in any other part of the old world; for, during

the last half-century, the annual supply has been 1000 poods, or 69,900 Cologne marks of silver. Besides this, the yearly produce of copper is 12,000 poods, and of lead 20,000 poods.

In the year 1836 the comparative produce of gold was,

	Pood.	Pound.	Sol.	Doli.
In the Ural .	293	26	40	30
Altai .	104	15	78	
Of Platina				48
in the Ural	118	2	7	48

Amount of Russian gold, 27884,8 marks: of Platina, 8269,8 marks.

The ore from which this silver was obtained, came for a long time only from a single mine of the Schlangenberg, 280 versts south of Barnaul. Many others have since been opened, near and far, along this gigantic range; some of which still are worked, and some abandoned. The chief administration of the mines, and their principal smelting-place, is in the town of Barnaul.

Though the present working of the Altai mines is more recent than the Uralian, and is scarcely above a century old, yet the works assigned generally to the Tchudes, and which are found in the Altai even more plentifully than in the Ural, prove the former to have been known from the earliest antiquity. But notwithstanding that the numerous ancient shafts have given rise to all the modern, all knowledge of these labours, and of the people engaged in them, has wholly died away. Obscure and broken legends only remain of the riches of the *Golden Mountains*, as the Altai are called in Chinese and old Turkish histories; and it was these traditions that, under the reign of Peter the Great, occasioned the repeated military expeditions to the Upper Irtish. They failed in their object then, but yet have proved serviceable, in establishing the chain of posts on the line of the Irtish that protect the present labours of the mines.

The actual mining of the Altai owes its existence to Akimfitsch Nikitas Demidoff, the son of him who commenced the Uralian labours; and who was probably induced by the traditions referred to, and the copper-ores brought back by the expeditionary parties above mentioned in 1723, to undertake a closer search. He obtained both the permission and assistance of his government for the task; and, after minor successes, formed in 1728 the first great smelting establishments of Kolywansk and Bjelaja: and though somewhat restricted and inconvenienced from the want of wood, laid the origin of the town of Burnaul in the year 1739. The veins of the Schlangenberg mine, rich in gold and silver, were fully opened in 1736; but the working of these metals was not permitted to individuals. Demidoff, therefore, was

necessitated to give notice of the fact to the department of mines; a commission was despatched which, two years later, in 1746, took possession on account of the crown; and the greatest attention was paid to the works, as also to fortify so valuable a possession against inroads of the nomade Kalmuks and Teleutes. It was held as a private property of the Imperial House until within these few years, when it was placed among the other possessions of the crown, and under the control of the minister of finance.

We must refer our readers to the volume itself for details of the processes, as well as of the obstacles that impeded these; and quote the produce of the year 1827.

	Pood.	Pound.	Solsk.	Rubles.	Copecks.
Silver as found in mass	1000	2	49		
Pure silver . . . . .	916	37	20 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Gold . . . . .	27	26	26 $\frac{5}{6}$		
The value of the gold and silver, in assignats, is	4,572,907	76			
The expenses . . . . .				1,279,000	—
Balance	3,293,907	76			

The relative values of the principal mines in the old and new world appear by the following table, as calculated in Cologne marks:

The annual produce of the Nertschinski District	16,500
. . . . . the Harz, with Anhalt	
. . . . . and Mansfield . . . .	49,900
. . . . . the Erzgebirg district of	
. . . . . Saxony . . . .	55,000
. . . . . Hungary, exclusive of the	
. . . . . Bannat . . . .	62,000

These fall far short of the Western Hemisphere, as the annual produce of Bolivia is 481,830 Castilian mks. of Peru . 611,090

The two countries, now united, producing 1,092,920  
Mexico . . . . . 2,500,000

The Schlangenberg, or Mount of Serpents, so called from the numbers of these reptiles that infest it (the Russian name is Simejewskeja Gora), stands separate from the surrounding mountains, and extends from N. W. to S. E., about 300 fathoms. The E., S., and S. W. sides are extremely steep; and on the N. it gradually sinks into a plain, on which the little town of Schlangenberg stands, 1,240 feet above the sea; E. N. E. of the mines

rises in a cone the highest mountain of the range, the Karaul-naja Sopka, or Wachtberg, which was once a watch-station against the nomade Kalmucks. It is, according to Ledebour, 2,006 feet above the sea, and 805 above the level of the town of Schlangenberg. The mountain of this name consists of little more than the soil of the ore itself, which is hornstone bedded in clay.

Kolywansk exhibits, amongst others, a new porphyry, and Dr. Rose professes his ignorance of more than two additional varieties that have been worked, viz. that of Elf-thal, and the antique red porphyry. This last has a light brownish-red ground, and differs from that of the Altai, both in the lightness of colour, and in the reddish tinge which arises from the occasional presence of hornblend, and absence of quartz: the particulars are given at some length.

Two versts beyond Riddersk rises a conical hill, called Krug-laja Sopka, the Round Mountain, which is destitute of trees; but, like the surrounding valley, covered with vegetation of such height, and so compact, that it rose above our travellers' heads, and prevented them from perceiving each other when only a few steps apart. *Silivum cernuum*, *Cnicus pratensis*, and *Epilobium angustifolium*, but nearly out of blossom, were especially common there. A specimen of *Silivum cernuum*, measured by Professor Ehrenberg, was nine feet in height.

At the village of Tscheramschanka they quitted the road they had taken in coming, and followed the valley of the Ulba. The valley grew wider though the mountains on either side were still lofty, not unfrequently resembling gigantic domes. The vegetation is extremely luxuriant; the villages they passed large; and the peasants appeared wealthy: they are occupied in rearing bees, which produce a fine honey. In this neighbourhood M. von Humboldt found the inclination of the needle to be 64: 47: 6.

At the house of M. Nakariakoff, a merchant of Ustkamenogorsk, they found Col. Liancourt, a French emigrant, old, but lively, who had lived 39 years in Siberia, and was commandant of the fortress; and a M. Popoff, whose conversation they found very interesting from his thorough knowledge of Middle Asia, obtained through extensive commercial connexions in Bochara, Taschkend, &c.: he has, by his exertions, rendered great services to his country.

On the south side of the Katungi mountains are the only known hot-springs of the Altai. They are situate not far from the sources of the Berel, in the valley of Rachmanowka, which flowing S. W., falls into the eastern side of the Berel. A few feet from two of the warm springs, one of cold water flows east-

ward through the turf into a small lake. These hot springs bear affinity to those of Gastein and Pfeffer, from the small proportion of fixed substances they contain. The resemblance to the former is still greater, as they rise also from crystalline slate rock (Schiefergebirge). The water of these Altaian hot-springs is without taste or smell ; and M. Gebler, who analysed them on the spot and at Barnaul, states they contain but 0,0013 per cent., an extremely small quantity, of fixed substances, consisting only of bituminous carbonated salts and extractive-matter; sulphuric acid, carbonated salts, or other salts, are not to be found in it.

The existence of these hot springs in the Altai is highly interesting, and, as M. von Humboldt has remarked, connected in all probability with the frequent earthquakes of the range : these, though not violent, extend to the plain, and to Barnaul and Su-sunsk. No warm springs are known in the Ural, and earthquakes there are of rare occurrence also.

Sixty versts from Krasnojarsk is the first Chinese station. On their way thither they crossed the Narym, a small stream falling into the Irtish, and forming here the boundary of Chinese Mogul-istan. A little higher this is defined by the Buchtarma, in a N. W. course.

The left of the Irtish is an open steppe, and inhabited by the great horde of the nomade Kirghis, who are also found rambling on the right bank of the stream. The travellers passed several of their wandering communities, or Aule, the land near which was partially cultivated. They saw here mostly millet (*Holcus sorgum*), and in good condition, for the Kirghis are careful to irrigate the plains ; cutting small trenches in all directions, to convey the water from the hills. They also cultivate wheat.

At one o'clock the party reached the Chinese posts, for there are two ; one on each bank of the Irtish. They live in tents, or Kirghis *Jurten* (a kind of tent), placed irregularly, and without regard to order. Mongols form the left post; Chinese the right; and both are under Chinese officers. Between the two, on an island in the Irtish, is a Kossack piquet under a *Jessaul*, or captain of cavalry : these live in houses, and superintend the fishery carried on up the Chinese Irtish to the Saisan lake, by the neighbouring Kossacks : they also arrange the moderate duties on salt and sturgeon, payable to the Chinese officers, and preserve a good understanding with this nation. During the winter, when there is no fishing, the Russian piquet retires to the next village, Krasnojarsk ; and the Chinese to Tschugutschask, a town south of the Saisan Lake, and 446 versts from Buchtarminsk, the place of banishment for the Chinese nobility. As the arrival of the party was anticipated, the Kossacks had erected two high *Jurtes* for

them, and from hence they visited the right station. The commandant was young, meagre, and wore a blue silk robe reaching to the ankles, and the well-known pointed bonnet, at the back of which were several peacock feathers, horizontally placed, indicative of his rank: his comrades were dressed similarly, but had no feathers. He invited the travellers by signs to enter his tent, in which, opposite the door, and on one side, stood several chests covered with carpets and pillows: a carpet also was spread on the ground. He took his seat opposite the door, and placed M. Humboldt by his side; the rest sat on the other chests, or on the ground: they had brought an interpreter who spoke only Mongol, which, however, the Chinese functionary understood. He offered them tea, which was declined, and inquired after the objects of M. Humboldt's journey. The latter answered, to inspect the mines: of the existence of these the Chinese commandant seemed to be perfectly aware, and being interrogated in his turn, told them that he had come direct from Pekin on horseback, in four months; that he had not been there long, and that the commander of the station was changed every three years. After a short stay the visitors departed, and crossed to the second station; the officer here awaited them in his *Jurte*, before which a number of poles were erected, with fresh meat hanging thereon, through which they had to seek a passage: he was dressed like the other commandant, but was older and dirtier, and so were his tent and attendants. The conversation also was more troublesome to carry on, as he did not understand Mongolian, or perhaps thought it beneath his dignity to hold direct communication with the interpreter. M. von Humboldt presented him with a piece of velvet, which he thankfully accepted, and offered tea; but this was declined. He led the party to a temple not far from the Irtish, a small square wooden building, with the door towards the river; the interior containing only an altar opposite the door, and on the wall above the altar a Buddhist idol. There was between the door and the river a wall rather longer than the temple; and between these stood an altar of slate, on which were live coals.

Returning, they soon after received a visit from the first commandant, with two of his companions. The guests were received seated by the European party, and the common Mongols thronged to the door of the *Jurte* to look on. The Chinese chief and his companions proceeded to smoke their pipes, urging the Europeans to do the same. These pipes, it is well known, are small, and exhausted after a few whiffs, therefore requiring incessant re-filling and lighting, which was done by the attendants. The chief tried also the tobacco offered him by M. Yermoloff, (the son of the distinguished Caucasian Governor), which he seemed to relish,

but soon laid aside his pipe on perceiving that his hosts did not smoke. He was now offered a piece of fine blue cloth, which he long hesitated to accept, expressing at the same time through the interpreter his reluctance to take so expensive a present, and repeatedly pushing it back gently. M. von Humboldt did the same, urging him, through the same channel, to accept it. After several times pushing it backwards and forwards, the Chinese finally yielded, and apparently with great satisfaction. He inquired also what he could offer in return, and the interpreter, who had been instructed beforehand, replied that M. von Humboldt would find nothing more agreeable than some books which he had seen in the Chinese *Jurte*. They were instantly brought and presented, but accepted only after several ceremonies and prolonged reluctance, by M. Humboldt. These books are an Historical Novel in four volumes, entitled *San-Kue-tchai*, containing the history of the three kingdoms into which China was divided after the *Han* dynasty, and are deposited in the Royal Library at Berlin. They have been the subject of a dispute between M. Klaproth and Professor Neumann, of Munich.

The Chinese commander expressed much pleasure at learning that they were intended for M. von Humboldt's brother, who was studying the Chinese language; and inscribed them as requested with his name, *Chin-foo*. The pencil with which he did this was a novelty at which he gazed with admiration, and accepted it, when offered, evidently gratified. Madeira, biscuit, and sugar, of which last the Mongols are extremely fond, and they eat it alone, were now handed to the guests. *Chin-foo* drank but little of the wine, and took only a small piece of sugar: without tasting, he placed it, like the biscuit, upon the cloth by the side of the pencil; and these, with a packet of tobacco from M. Yermoloff, were carried away by the attendants. The others, however, drank several glasses of wine, always at a single draught, and put away their pipes at sight of the sugar, which they devoured in quantities. Sugar was also distributed amongst the inferior Mongols, who had by this time entered the tent, and who stretched out their hands for it like children. After some time, *Chin-foo* rose and took leave: his whole conduct evinced him a perfectly well-bred man. More opportunity was now afforded of observing the inferior Mongols, who came forward full of curiosity from all quarters, and even touched the Europeans, but showed no anger when pushed back. In the two stations were about eighty men, dressed like their leaders, though in different coloured robes, confined by a girdle at the waist; but all ragged, dirty, and without arms. They were without an exception meagre, and therefore were much struck with the corpulence of one of the Europeans, putting

their hands round his stomach, and touching him with their fingers. Of their weapons were shown only bows and arrows, which, together with other things, such as pipes, porcelain, and chop-sticks, they freely offered for sale or exchange. There were camels among their tents, and a flock of goats and fat-tailed sheep. The whole country seemed sterile; the soil hilly, consisting for the most part of greywacke, with but little earth; the banks of the river were reedy, and particularly at the island station of the Kos-sacks. Posts similar to this of Baty extend along the whole Chinese frontier.

For other particulars respecting the mineralogy, &c. of these districts, we must refer to the copious details everywhere furnished by our Author, and which are, by their nature, precluded from transfer to our pages. To the scientific inquirer the work on these accounts is invaluable.

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ART. X.—*Memoria justificativa que dirige a sus Concidadanos el General Cordova.* (Memoir addressed by General Cordova to his Fellow-Citizens.) Paris. 1837.

THE affairs of Spain have long occupied a large space in the columns of the daily press of Europe, and of England and France more especially;—the military operations of the rival parties, and the acts of the Cortes, have been animadverted upon under the influence of feelings and prejudices that vitiate the real aspect of affairs, and complicate the difficulties that otherwise sufficiently impede the formation of a correct judgment on the present, the past, and the future. But for this consideration it would indeed be strange that a point forming the subject of longer and more general discussion than any other in Europe, and amongst natives as well as strangers, should never yet have been viewed in its real light, nor the causes developed which have so hopelessly protracted a sanguinary and bitter civil warfare, and succeeded in so totally disorganizing the very government of the country. The work that heads our present article is characteristic of the Spanish genius and temperament. With an ample display, or rather an assumption of displaying information, judgment, and comprehensive views, it unites an animation of thought and a copiousness of diction that amuse the mind, but leave no traces of conviction behind them. On the contrary, it affords an irrefragable evidence that the military leaders, no less than the ministers, of a state are frequently subject to political infirmities that defy eradication and are difficult of even a temporary cure. The Spanish Nation itself appears, indeed, at this juncture, to be suffering under a kind of

political disorder, which affects at the same time the head and the limbs, and by its singular and fatal influence forbids the hope of speedy termination to the pangs that agitate and convulse the patient. The extraordinary position of Spain herself, and the singular temperament of the Spaniards, misleads political writers in general; and involves them, and in truth the question itself, in the darkness of so thick a cloud of ungrounded reasonings and erroneous judgments, arising out of utterly mistaken facts, that better informed statesmen participate in the delusion, and find it easier to trust to the force of their own imaginations for a clue than to develope and trace the real and tortuous causes of such novel modes of conduct to their source. The natives of the country cannot be accused of being deficient in personal sagacity, nor of positive ignorance of their own position at home; yet when applied to for information on the subject of the endless war that is desolating still, as it long has desolated, every province of Spain in its turn; and when questioned as to the obstacles that prevent, what seems so near at hand if desired, the conclusion of the long and half-slumbering conflict,—they take so many different and incompatible views of the case, and offer reasons so complicated, desultory, and partial, that it becomes hopeless to seek from out the maze a clue to guide us to the end, or even assist our fancy to guess the time and the mode of termination.

As with such blinded guides there is little probability of attaining the aim and object of our inquiries; and as the modes of feeling and thinking, rather than reasoning, which have involved their own minds in apparently inextricable confusion, are little likely to facilitate the enlightenment of others, we must endeavour to withdraw the reader's eye from too close an approximation to the forms that crowd and confuse the foreground of the picture, and place it as we best can to receive one general and correct impression from the multitude of hues and colours that overlay the surface: marking especially the darker portions that throw so deep and sombre a gloom over a land where nature has but lavished magnificence in wrath; and seeking those lights that we would fain hope may yet be brought to brighten the sternness of the lowering scene; to wake in the darkling spirit a ray of better feeling, and warm and gladden each sullen and isolated bosom to the charms of social life and the glow of a gentler humanity.

Unfortunately, wherever we may turn our eyes, we are doomed to behold the fierce struggle and deadly animosity of factions, that seem to regard each other with no ordinary abhorrence, and appear to have united, in the national character and their own, the fiery wrath and long resentment of the Arab with the

cold steadfastness and unyielding pertinacity of hate that distinguished the Goth. Though each part of Spain, separated by by tastes, habits, provincial recollections and institutions, from the rest, bears in other respects the characteristics of a different nation, mingling reluctantly and by necessity with its brethren, but loving to preserve at home the various peculiarities of circumstance and manners that form the distinguishing features of their separated condition ; yet all retain in common the general outline of that spirit to which we have adverted above, and show indubitable marks of their common descent from those invaders and defenders of their native soil.

It might have been imagined that the part taken by Spain in the politics of Europe in ages past, her conquests in America, and her commerce with both hemispheres, by introducing the experience, tastes, and luxuries of other lands, would have gradually softened and blended the harsher traits of earlier times into a more general and social sympathy. But the pride of her former rulers, harmonizing with, and sustaining that of the nation, held little or no intercourse with Europe but such as the bigot holds with the heretic, the sovereign with his slave : and, when subjugated nations broke the bands of that imperious captivity, the conquered but unyielding despot retired from the scene of defeat to indulge his ascetic mortification in the marble solitudes of the Escorial, or soothe his trampled pride with the submissive and golden homage of lands where reality exceeded the dreams of the wildest and most wanton imagination, and where the sovereign placed his foot upon the neck of his subjects, while they hailed him as a benefactor and half adored him as a god.

While the pomp of Royalty thus maintained its sternest etiquette in a half inaccessible, unattractive capital, the gradual influence of commerce was softening the provinces of the South and East, but was itself debarred from further interior progress by the restraints we have alluded to, of provincial barriers. The principle of harmony was thus excluded from the social system of Spain. The Castilian, in his two noble provinces and metropolitan capital, held himself the lord over all his brethren, and at least the equal of his own sovereign ; the Arragonese recalled the days of the Great Ferdinand ; the Biscayan, shrouded in privileges, spurned all who could trace their proper ancestry ; the gay Valencian and softer Andalusian, smiled in secret complacence at their own superior happiness ; the Granadian, in half oriental warmth, still breathed the last sigh of the Moor ; and all, in pride or idleness, derided and abhorred the toiling Galician, seeking a master in every Spaniard. Habits so distinct, and strengthened by so long and isolated an existence, could not easily be borne

down even by the predominating influence and gay heedlessness of the French intruders. However acceptable in individual cases and amongst the more enlightened portion of Spaniards, the humbler classes, even when they cheerfully received and exchanged courtesies with their hostile visitors, felt a repugnance to their general manners because they were novel to themselves. On their feelings towards their English allies we need not dwell ; and have hastily run over this passing sketch to show how strong was the pressure of that iron cincture which confined individuals and provinces within their own proper circle ; and which, even when removed, as we may now consider it, leaves the sense of its restraint upon the wearer still.

If such then was the mutual feeling of friendly and neighbouring races, it will not be difficult to understand the intensity of those passions which collision of views and interests and the clash of open hostility must produce. Accustomed to feel strongly, but seldom to act ; when roused into exertion the Spaniards are as ill educated and froward children, and too much habituated to their own prejudices to bear opposition from others. With minds ardent but utterly untrained, in the excitement of the means they lose sight of the end, and in the consequent failure to attain it take shelter in apathy—the favourite veil of indolent and ignorant pride.

Without an experience of the value of union, and too impatient for discipline and subordination, the political parties, whether Statulist, Constitutional, Carlist, or Absolutist, all of course profess different principles, yet have no positive object, and still less any expectation that the country will benefit by their exertions. Spain, and more especially its capital, Madrid, contained among its inhabitants a large proportion of *employés*, whose welfare and even existence depended on the party whose side they espoused ; and their struggle was consequently designated by the phrase of *guerra de empleos*. The Spaniards, since the expulsion of the Moors and the discovery of America, have forgotten or altogether laid aside all they had known of active and industrious habits. Every family unblest with an *Employé* and an Ecclesiastic amongst its members considered itself degraded ; for in Spanish society all were looked upon as inferiors that did not belong to the clergy, the military, or the civil department. Hence the peculiarities of their social state ; and hence too it happened that the emigrants to Spanish America were men destitute of fortune and education. The numerous class of *employés*, accustomed to live by the government, and employing adulation to conciliate favour in order to preserve their posts, were overwhelmed at once by the shocks of political changes, which,

depriving themselves of bread, opened also the door to more needy competitors, who had long beheld with angry impatience and wondering jealousy the mystical regularity of support and enjoyment in which they were maintained at the cost of the State.

The factions that exercise so strong an influence in Spain and give their several tones and impress to its society, are, in reality, under the direction of these very men, who, inactive and listless so long as the means of livelihood were assured to them, on the change of affairs found themselves thrown out of their former position. Exerting themselves to the utmost, finding the field open to ambitious projects, and being utterly destitute of principle, they now unceasingly excite the eager and unreflecting to the commission of disorders that embarrass the Government, alarm the more peaceful portion of the community, and paralyze the efficiency of the army. Spanish writers, and more particularly the author before us, may, if they please, refer the cause of these disorders to the different graduations and modifications of the representative system: the cause is less theoretical, and infinitely more homely and simple; for it lies in the necessity that forces the proud and unprincipled into exertion of some kind, and, unfortunately, at this juncture the easiest is also the worst.

Such is one fertile source of the disorders that have, on all occasions, encumbered the action of the Government; nor, on the other hand, must it be imagined that this last is free from blame. The narrowness of our limits prevents us, in the present article, from examining into the course and character of the men who have brought, by their mismanagement, the country into its actual crisis. It must suffice us to observe, that when these shall be closely scrutinized, and the conduct of parties weighed in the balance, they will be found mournfully destitute of any but the sullen or selfish feeling for the existence of which we have endeavoured, in some degree, to account. The imaginative bias of minds, such as those in the Peninsula, generally secluded from free intercourse with the rest of Europe and proportionately ignorant of the usual modes of thought and action, have unfitted those whose finer talents, or greater purity of principle, have honourably distinguished them from the more sordid mass, and might otherwise have saved the country from its calamities, for any effectual intervention. Conceit, selfishness, ignorance, intrigue, presumption, indolence, and incapacity; servility, personal attachments, and private animosities, have marked every step of the Government and public functionaries, civil as well as military, from Martinez de la Rosa, Toreno, Mendizabal, Isturiz, to the ministers of the present hour; and, to say nothing of their subordinates in the Cabinet, of the long list of Generals, who have succeeded in little else than

supplanting each other, and injuring the nation and the Government, from the first appearance of insurrection to the hour when we are writing. What, in truth, could be expected even from the personal devotion, had there been such, to the cause, of men whose individual bravery fitted them, undoubtedly, for grenadiers in the field, but whose absolute ignorance of all the duties, and deficiency in all the requisites of command, have converted even victory into misfortune and disgrace.

The mingled inertness and peculation that have hitherto prevented the formation of any thing like an available commissariat, and the total inappreciation of any necessity for this most essential branch of the military service, establishes strikingly the favouritism and venality, no less than the gross incapacity that pervades the highest departments, military and civil, of the state. The deficiency in question too has the worst possible effect in the discipline of the army, of which insubordination is the leading characteristic. The Spanish soldier, abstemious, brave, and capable of sustaining both fatigue and privation to an astonishing degree, not only feels these last qualities tested to the utmost by continued neglect and notorious avarice and dishonesty, but knows also that these are the immediate grounds that render his exertions in the field totally unproductive of any result, either for his cause or himself. The national temperament, jealous, ardent, and haughty, is in itself, as we have remarked, inimical to subordination ; officer depreciates officer ; general accuses general ; venality, disaffection, and treason, are a mutual reproach ; how then can the private feel for his superior that respect, confidence, and affection which so principally supports the moral sense through the hardships of a military life ? Or farther, how can the general enforce submission, and maintain discipline in his own ranks in the face of an enemy, when he is literally dependent on the mere forbearance of his own troops, destitute of necessities and too cognizant of the cause ; and to retain whom he can offer no better inducement than blindness to their disobedience and connivance in their irregularities and excesses.

We do not, however, find these glaring defects displayed in the memorial of General Cordova. This military and political sage, originally an absolutist, and now a liberal, possesses a reasonable share of the faults that distinguish the Spanish genius and temperament.—Eager, fiery, and brave to a fault, he shapes out plans of reformation in perfect consonance with his own spirit, in some parts extravagant, in others more rational, but little adapted to the national character, which possesses neither steadiness nor judgment. He comes before his countrymen like a being of a superior order, dividing and exhibiting himself upon several

points at once ; and, if we may be allowed the expression, vanquishing and pursuing a flying enemy, whom however he has not yet attacked in the field. He appears amongst them like a thunderbolt, and launched indeed from amongst clouds, though his existence in the skies has never been suspected ; the very hero of modern instead of ancient Spanish romance, whose mere appearance on the ground must ensure victory without a contest.

Were it not for the deep and bitter sense entertained by the more enlightened Spaniards of the errors and defects of the mass of the nation and of the government, we might almost imagine that the remembrance of their ancient chivalry is the only sense of dignity left in the Spanish character,—the pride of past exploits the only public virtue that remains.

It must be acknowledged, however, that General Cordova himself possesses one more attribute than the sense of past glories. No one who reads his memorial, as we grieve to say we have done, would attempt to charge its modest and unpretending author with any undue preference of former renown, or with an unjust forgetfulness of his own claims to public admiration. If, however, it is necessary, which we do not question, to fill a volume with details of his skill in the art of war and a candid exposition and approbation of his own military talents, it may not be altogether superfluous for General Cordova farther to specify at what times, and in what countries, these have been crowned with success. We venture on the suggestion with the greater diffidence, because not merely we ourselves, but the public of both countries, appear also to be wholly destitute of information on this head ; and the vulgar, if no others, attach importance to results, especially in war. This point ascertained, we shall the more readily subscribe to the propriety of such details in the midst of a political essay. In their present state they are intended, doubtless, for the especial edification of the Spanish cadets. General Cordova, indeed, has been peculiarly successful in that part of his argument where he proves that an armed force cannot vanquish an enemy in the field, unless it is duly provided with money and shoes. So clearly does the gallant leader establish this fact by reasoning, that he deems it needless to recur to his own practical illustration of its truth in actual warfare ; and so satisfactory are both argument and illustration on this point, that we are surprised that the Carlists, when wholly unincumbered with either of the requisites aforesaid, should ever have succeeded in gaining a battle against all the rules of the Spanish toilette, and in unceremonious disregard, not only of the Brothers Baring, but even of Hoby. But then these Biscayans are mere warriors, ignorant of etiquette, and

deserve nothing better than victory, by way of penance for their poverty and hardihood, in fighting without any shoes at all. Our gallant general knows better than to win a battle against rules ; and if any one can be so churlish as to deny him the praise of actual defeat in a similar dilemma, it must at least be a consolation to him to have done all he could to deserve it. The conquering cause might please the Gods and the Basques, but to have been conquered is the glory of Cato.

Yet it seems that the want of common equipments is not the only obstacle to the military successes of the Constitutionalists. Espartero, a general of nearly equal fame with his great rival, though unreasonable enough to gain victory in defiance of all precedents and shoes, has been far too rational to prosecute its advantages to the destruction of his antagonist. This modest conqueror has disdained to march from conquest to conquest, and we even fear that his recent laurels may have inconvenienced him by their unaccustomed weight in the sultry season of the last campaign ; but we trust that his uninterrupted *siesta* of the last 20 weeks may yet enable the indefatigable warrior to open his eyes again some time within the course of the next twelve months. The advantage of making but one movement per annum is obvious in the great savings thereby effected, for the shoes of the army, if not for the state : and if history has dwelt on that act of martial courtesy, when the French and English guards at Fontenoy mutually insisted on receiving the first fire, how will the muse of Spanish History exult in future times in a hero who gives *carte blanche* to his antagonists for a whole campaign till the last day. They on their part receive the courtesy with gratitude, and the owls of Estremadura may cordially echo their brethren in the Eastern tale, and cry, long Life to General Espartero ! for while the din of armis rocks his slumber, Spain can never want for ruined villages.

We must distinctly state our intention of entering shortly upon a more detailed consideration of the position of Spain, and of the causes that have reduced her fortune and character to so low an ebb since the commencement of the present struggle for the Crown. The long series of negligence, presumption and mismanagement that suffered a power so little formidable in the first instance to rise so high as to divide the opinions of Europe on the ultimate result, involves a serious charge against those entrusted with the conduct of affairs in that unhappy country, and requires some knowledge and explanation of the personal characters and motives of the principal actors, upon which we have no room for animadversion here.

But we cannot, meantime, always preserve our gravity at the

solemn and ceaseless complaints of every party in Spain against their own partizans, as well as their antagonists. In what a mournful state must a country be when the leading members of its community, whose imbecility is the universal confession, are allowed to continue for years the same course, though they change hands with their rivals occasionally. What must be the apathy of a nation that can look on for years at the destruction, not only of their existing institutions, but of their own property and rights, by the hands of those whom they despise! If the probe of steel applied for thirty years has not yet reached the bottom of the wound, what an inconceivable mass of corruption must the mis-government of centuries have produced! How strongly the lessons of history speak to our ears, yet revolutionary demagogues would fain, in their novel theories, restore us only to the worst errors of the past. The existence of separate States in a kingdom, and the consequent weakness of the presiding Power, has led the latter in every instance to sow dissensions between the rivals, and take advantage of their mutual jealousies and opposition to secure Despotism for itself, so soon as the occasion was favourable for crushing them all. The one Parliament of England has saved her from the ruin achieved by the various and independent cortes of early Spain; yet there are not wanting those who would establish separate Legislatures here, in blindness to the inevitable result, that the kingly power would join with each in turn, to control and destroy the rest.

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ART. XI.—*Les Soirées de Jonathan.* (Jonathan's Evenings.) Par X. B. Saintine. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1837.

M. SAINTINE is very generally known as the author of that singular, and as singularly popular, novel—*Picciola*; the whole interest of which turns upon the passionate love of a profligate atheist for a flower, and his, the said profligate atheist's, consequent conversion to sensibility, religion, and virtue. The literary and moral phenomenon of *Picciola's* existence and popularity in France, it should naturally have been our business to announce and explain to our readers—that is to say, to explain if we could; seeing that the problem, how such a simple tale of floral influence upon the heart and mind, of floral illustration of natural theology, should captivate the fancy of a nation to whose palled senses every thing short of incest and parricide had for years appeared insipid, is not one of very easy solution.

But from this task of metaphysical investigation we were exempted, *Picciola* being withdrawn from the sphere of our jurisdiction, even before we had met with the book, by its almost immediate introduction into this country in an English version. The talent and the originality of the tale fixed our attention, however, upon the author; and when he gave to the world two volumes of “Jonathan's Evenings,” we lost no time in procuring the work, only wondering if France could have adopted English slang, and if this Jonathan could be our Brother Jonathan; but confident, whether M. Saintine had laid his scene in America or in Europe, of finding in his “Evenings” something impressive, powerful, out of the way, even if not peculiarly congenial to our own individual taste. These confident anticipations are, we grieve to acknowledge, materially disappointed. Not that the gifted author has here written, or ever could write, dully, without talent; but that he has, in *Les Soirées de Jonathan*, taken a line less in accordance with the peculiar bent of his genius. To exemplify this, we must be permitted to say another word or two of the character and especial merit of *Picciola*.

The very essence of that tale was the developing the action of external causes upon the mind, and of the mind, under varying circumstances, upon itself. The growth of atheism, heartlessness, and utter disbelief in virtue and the kindly feelings of human nature, through a course of libertinism, is indeed but slightly touched, nor was more than a slight sketch needed—of such progressive degradation, we have had enough, more than enough, in books and in real life. But the re-action, from the first slight sense of kindness and interest, awakened in the sullenly apathetic prisoner by his own almost unconscious act of forbearance in avoiding to crush beneath his foot the nascent plant, peeping forth between the flags of his prison walk, through the hold upon his attention thus gained by the plant, the interest in its growth, resulting from its thus attracting his attention, the gradual thawing of his ice-bound feelings by the mere mental act—or, should we say, passion?—of taking any interest in any thing, and the slow consequent progress to philanthropy, to trustfulness in human nature, and to piety—which, as we are not reviewing *Picciola*, we cannot afford time here to trace, step by step—

all this is so nicely, intellectually, and delicately unfolded, that even those supercilious critics who most sneered at such a fuss about a flower could not but be pleased and touched with much of the working out of this most unincidental, and yet in effect eventful, metaphysical tale. We ourselves were highly gratified therewith ; and even when the pathos became too much for our official gravity, as we must honestly confess it at length did, we continued to be gratified, nay, to be touched, even whilst we laughed, and in spite of our hearty laughter.

The new volumes are of a character altogether different, as will be sufficiently manifest from a very brief account of their contents. They consist of the evening conversations of the supposititious writer, represented as a mere French gentleman, now dead, with his friend, a certain Jonathan, who, though apparently not above forty years of age, has evidently lived some few centuries, and confesses to his friend his possession of a secret for prolonging life far beyond the period usually allotted to man. This Jonathan dies, however, notwithstanding his secret, and dies in a somewhat mysterious, not to say preternatural, manner, merely because he cannot, by land or water, get out of Honfleur : then resuscitates in a learned peasant-girl—who, we are sorry to add, turns out ill—and proves, moreover, to have been Pythagoras ; that is to say, the peasant girl, *alias* Jonathan, establishes the doctrine of metempsychosis, asserting herself or himself, alone amongst mortals, to enjoy the invaluable power of preserving, through all changes of person, a continuous individual identity, by distinctly recollecting the incidents, opinions, feelings, &c. &c. of every past state of existence.

This account of Jonathan, which, however extravagant, is neither uninteresting nor ill-told, constitutes the introduction to the fifteen evenings ; there being in fact so many short narratives told by Jonathan of various incidents witnessed by, or at least known to him—(the most supernatural he distinctly avers that he witnessed)—within the few hundred years of his existence as Jonathan. These stories are necessarily too short to admit that development of mental action which appears to us to be M. Saintine's *forte*. They are, for the most part, satirical, and many of them are imitations of originals of which it might have been wiser not to remind us ; as of Voltaire's *Ingénu*, Mrs. Shelley's *Frankenstein*, the Arabian tale in which a sultan, whose name we forget, lives a whole life whilst dipping his head into a bucket of water, &c. Now there is no question of its being literally allowable to appropriate the invention of a foreign author, by adapting it to the different manners, opinions, and feelings of the borrower's own country. But—besides that the plea is inapplicable to the case of Voltaire, this lawful mode of appropriation is not M. Saintine's. If he has changed the *revue* of his borrowed idea, he has not used it for the portraiture of French society, but has laid the scene in other foreign lands. And this leads us to another fault that we find in these tales or anecdotes ; to wit, a want of truth of *costume*, a disregard of the peculiar manners and habits of the nations amongst whom they are located ; as, for instance, he represents the Germans as bad musicians ; Mahometan women as so little secluded, that a customer, as a matter of course, sees and falls in love with the

shopkeeper's pretty daughter ; a Hindoo prince, before the Moslem conquest of Hindostan, as building both mosques and pagodas ; strangers as living familiarly with the Japanese ; the Caffrees as cannibals, setting little value on their kin, and the like. Such misrepresentations, if less important in short stories and satires than in regular tales, still give a painful consciousness of falsehood to the reader who is acquainted—and, in these days of incessant and universal travel and travel-publication, who is not?—with the manners and characteristics of the different regions of the globe.

But, whilst thus criticising, let us not be understood as condemning these two clever, often entertaining, and often pleasing little volumes. We only regret to see the author leave the path which he has so successfully trod, for one with the turns and bearings of which he seems less familiar. And, lest our remarks may have been somewhat hypercritical, we will endeavour to make M. Saintine amends for our censure, by giving a specimen of his style of narration. This we shall perhaps best do by selecting one of the shortest tales, which we can extract with very little abridgment, even in the small space we can allow him. The tale we prefer, as well for this reason as for its characteristic prettiness, is *Les Bienfaiteurs*, (the Benefactors,) and we must prefix the four mottoes, which it is, at least as we imagine, designed to illustrate:—

“ TENTH EVENING.

“ THE BENEFACTOR.—(SPAIN.)

“ *Omne dixeris maledictum, cum ingratum hominem dixeris.* (When you term a man ungrateful, you have exhausted the language of reprobation.)—*Cic.*

“ *Tel homme est ingrat, qui est moins coupable de son ingratitudo que celui qui lui a fait du bien.* (Ingratitude may occasionally be less the fault of the ingrate than of the benefactor.)—*Maximes de Larocheſoucauld*, ccxxix.

“ *Ce n'est pas un grand malheur d'obliger des ingrats ; mais c'en est un insupportable d'être obligé à un malhonnête homme.* (It is no great misfortune to oblige ingrates ; but it is insupportable to be obliged to a worthless man.)—*Ib.*, ccxxiv.

“ *On a beaucoup écrit, et avec raison, contre les ingrats, mais on a laissé les bienfaiteurs en repos, et c'est un chapitre qui manque à l'histoire des tyrans.* (Much has been written against the ungrateful, and justly, but benefactors have been let alone ; 'tis a chapter wanting to the history of tyrants.)—*Maximes et principes de d'Alembert*, p. 62.

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“ Lopez had no better habitation than a cottage, but it was situated under the delicious sky of Andalusia, in the little kingdom of Jaen, at the flowery foot of the Sierra Morena ; and his daughter Inesilla, his only child, his good, his beautiful, and dearly beloved Inesilla, inhabited it with him. Of his lost wealth he regretted nothing except the means of completing the brilliant education of his daughter, which his misfortunes had interrupted.

“ ‘Inesilla,’ he would sometimes say, ‘in the days of my prosperity I often did good to others, and no one comes to my assistance. Seldom does generosity dwell in the heart of man !’

“ ‘From the immense number of ingrates, I should infer the reverse,’ was Inesilla’s answer.

“ ‘Ingratitude would be less common, were benefactions wisely conferred. But the rich and powerful, ever surrounded by lacqueys, flatterers, intriguers, know not how to break through the servile throng, to offer to virtuous indi-

gence assistance that might relieve without degrading. He who obliges ought first to know well whom he is about to oblige.

“ ‘ One follows the impulse of one’s heart, and is deceived; it has been your own case, father.’

“ ‘ And I did wrong !’

“ He was pursuing this theme, when a peal of thunder was heard. A violent storm was evidently gathering, and Lopez, forgetting benefactors and ingrates, ran out, to open the great gates of his court-yard, in order that any travellers who chanced to be caught in the sudden tempest might take shelter under his shed, and escape the torrent that was already rolling noisily in the mountain ravines.”

Don Fernando, a young Madrid courtier, then upon his travels, profits by this act of thoughtfully provident hospitality ; and, having disposed of his horses and servants under the shed, enters the cottage. He is evidently much struck by the beauty and dignity of its inmates, and frankly accepts the father’s invitation to share the frugal meal to which he and his daughter were sitting down. Of this indeed he partakes so heartily, that poor Inesilla begins to tremble lest her stock of provisions should fall short.

“ Scarcely did she venture to touch the food, in order to leave the more for the guest. He appeared unobservant; but he managed so skilfully to draw Lopez into a discussion upon the comparative excellence of the produce of the best Spanish vineyards, and upon the preparation of the *olla podrida*, that nothing could seem more natural than the following exclamation, with which he interrupted the old man.

“ ‘ Oh, by Sant Jago ! but there are things that can only be decided while tasting them ! And, by good luck, I just happen to have some bottles of Xeres, and *vino Rancio* in my carriage; besides which my dear, good, old aunt of Cazorla, did not let me leave her yesterday without stocking my travelling larder.’

“ Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his host, Fernando now issued his orders to his servants, and, thanks to the fine wines and delicate viands brought to table, the modest cottage meal was converted into a banquet such as Lopez had long been unused to.

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“ Lopez gradually became more communicative. A sort of intimacy grew up between him and Fernando; he related his misfortunes; and his young guest, after listening attentively to the whole, exclaimed, with tears in his eyes: ‘ By the sword of the Cid, I am grateful to my patron saint for having led me hither ! Thanks be to Heaven and the tempest, therefore ! Lopez, I have riches and a feeling heart; you will not reject the offer I am about to make you. Sooner or later you must recover your fortune; meanwhile condescend to be my debtor.’

“ ‘ For myself,’ rejoined Lopez, ‘ I want nothing; but my Inesilla, in the very bloom of life, has long been deprived of the useful seeds of salutary instruction, of the caresses of a companion, of the cares of a mother; for there are cares in which the tenderest father cannot supply the maternal place !’

“ ‘ I have an aunt,’ replied Fernando, taking the old man’s hand, with deep emotion; ‘ my excellent and revered aunt, who resides at Cazorla with her two daughters, both much about your Inesilla’s age. This family, in whom you will find united inexhaustible goodness, fervent piety, and information at once solid and various, is destitute of fortune’s gifts, and subsists upon a trifling pension, which their virtues, humanity and relationship, make it my bounden duty to allow them. Cazorla is not far distant, upon the borders o

the Vega; it is a delicious spot. Go thither yourself; see my noble kinsman; intrust your Inesilla to her,—

“ Lopez could not hear him out, but kissed his hands, bedewing them with tears of gratitude.”

Lopez accordingly conducts his daughter to Cazorla, is charmed with Don Fernando’s relations, and leaves Inesilla under their care. Bitterly does he now, in his solitary cottage, repent of his former habitual condemnation of mankind; and this self-reproach is prodigiously increased when he one day accidentally observes a vulture carefully feeding an unfeathered dove-nestling, whose parent birds had seemingly been destroyed.

“ ‘ Oh, most wonderful !’ cried the worthy Lopez. ‘ How unjust, how blind have I not been ! I disbelieved in the existence of benevolence, and it exists even among vultures !’

“ He was never weary of gazing upon this affecting spectacle ; every day he returned to contemplate it anew, and to find in it an exhaustless source of gratifying reflections. \* \* \* By a natural concatenation of ideas, his thoughts flew thence to Cazorla, where his gentle Inesilla was dwelling in happiness and innocence under the guardian care of one of the world’s powerful and opulent sons ; and Lopez sought his lowly roof, blessing Don Fernando and the vulture.

“ Days passed and the vulture intermitted not his parental care. Already the little nestling was clothed in silvery feathers ; already she tried her timid pinion among the branches of her native tree, and her beak, gaining hardness, seized and crushed more easily the aliments presented to her. One day the vulture, after feeding his foster-child as usual, examined her with unwonted attention ; he found her plump, tempting, in short in the condition to which he had been so carefully rearing her—and he devoured her !

“ Lopez was a witness to the catastrophe, and stood confounded. ‘ Merciful Heaven !’ he exclaimed, ‘ what do I see !’ (The good old soul wondered at a vulture’s eating a dove, whilst only the contrary would have been miraculous.) Instantly the idea of his daughter burst upon his mind. ‘ My Inesilla, my dove !’ said he, to himself ; ‘ is not she likewise under the protection of a vulture, of a courtly grandee, of a man of prey, in short ?—Oh, let me not lose a moment !’ \* \* \* During his journey he almost incessantly repeated to himself, ‘ Before accepting a favour, the character of those who confer it should be ascertained ; protectors and *protégés* should not adopt each other without previous, reciprocal investigations.’

“ As he pronounced these words for the hundredth time, he reached Cazorla. Panting for breath, he flew to the house where dwelt his daughter. \* \* \* \* Alas !”

The story thus abruptly ends, leaving the reader to imagine the second catastrophe. But we cannot conclude without observing, that neither Don Fernando nor the vulture really are benefactors, although they momentarily and hypocritically assume the semblance thereof, for base or selfish purposes ; and that, therefore, although the story fully illustrates the last axiom of poor Lopez, to wit, the necessity of ascertaining who and what the person is from whom a favour is to be accepted, it by no means illustrates the prefixed mottoes, which refer to the misery of lying under obligations to the worthless. A subject, by the way, which we should much like to see, treated and skilfully elucidated and exemplified ; inasmuch as it appears to us to be as rich in situations of the deep agony produced by conflicting duties, conflicting virtuous emotions, as the heart of novelist or dramatist could possibly desire.

## MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

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### FRANCE.

THE restoration of the palace of Versailles, and the appropriating it to the purposes of a national historical museum, will confer a fresh species of interest on the building itself, and eclat on the reign of Louis Philippe. Of the immense collection of both paintings and sculptures already brought together within its walls, a series of outline engravings, with explanatory letter-press by Jules Jonin, has been commenced under the title of "Galeries Historiques de Versailles." Although the plates are merely in outline, the time requisite for making drawings of so great a number of subjects according to the usual mode, would have rendered the publication a tedious one, had not the employment of the *Diograph* very materially abridged the process of copying. Upon what principle this instrument (invented by M. Gavard, the editor of the work) is constructed, or how it is used, we have not been able to ascertain; yet, unless its merits are greatly exaggerated, it appears capable of rendering extensive benefit. One thing wherein its serviceableness appears unquestionable is, that by means of it an exact copy may be taken of the minutest details of a ceiling, cornice, &c., however elaborate and complex, although too remote to be distinctly viewed by the naked eye. So far, this instrument must be an exceedingly valuable one indeed to the architectural draftsman. Still, judging from some of the interiors—that view, for instance, of the "Escalier des Ambassadeurs"—we should say that it rather distorts the perspective; unless the incorrectness in that respect, here observable, arises merely from casual inadvertency. It must further be acknowledged, that the general execution of the plates is rather tame and spiritless,—without any of that richness and *souplesse* which distinguish the outlines of London. Nevertheless, although the engravings themselves are but moderate productions of art, in that class of it to which they belong, and although many of the subjects are not of a kind which retain much interest when reduced to outline, especially from pictures upon a large scale—such as many of the battle pieces—the work itself will, when completed, be a valuable one, if only as bringing together in an agreeable and popular form a mass of historical information relative to France at various epochs, and those who have signalized themselves in its annals. In this last point of view, the portraits and statues of eminent individuals, well entitle both the museum itself, and this work, to the epithet of historical. There are three editions published simultaneously, the largest of which is further enriched with numerous wood-cuts representing the principal ornaments and pieces of furniture in the palace.

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In the year 1833, Fournier, of Paris, published the first *livraison*, consisting of two volumes, of the "Mémoires du Marechal Ney;" the second, likewise two volumes, was, according to an announcement on the cover, then in the press, and shortly to appear. The Paris booksellers, Belliard, Dufour and Co. took 100 copies of the first *livraison*, for which they paid 1600 francs. In consequence of differences which arose between the publisher and the marshal's family, but which, as it appears, were settled by arbitration, the two latter volumes of the Memoirs in question have not yet been published, nor are

they likely to be very soon, if ever. To a requisition of the above-mentioned booksellers for the delivery of the conclusion of the work, Fournier replied that it was not in his power. As he refused to take back 43 copies which, as the work was left incomplete, Belliard and Co. could not sell, and to return the 688 francs which they had paid for them, they were obliged to bring the publisher before the Paris Tribunal of Commerce. After hearing the advocates on both sides, that court, on the 28th of September, adjudged that Fournier should deliver to the plaintiffs, within fourteen days, 100 copies of the two deficient volumes, in default of which the defendant should return the amount of the 48 unsold copies, together with interest from the day of the sale, and also decreed that he should pay the costs of the proceedings.

It is reported to be the intention of the French government to send a properly qualified person to Spain, to make purchases of valuable manuscripts and editions, which, owing to the shutting up of the convents and the dispersion of many of their libraries, may now be easily procured. They are known to contain many very important works, and especially Arabic manuscripts of the times of the Moors.

A work, illustrative of the arts in the middle ages in France, has been commenced in Paris, with the title of "Les Arts au moyen Age, en ce qui concerne principalement le Palais Romain de Paris, l'Hôtel de Cluny, issu de ces Ruines," &c. It is to be completed in twenty-five *livraisons*, forming 4 volumes, 8vo. with an atlas of copper-plates and lithographs, in small folio.

Messrs. H. Roux, senior, and Ad. Bouchet, have published several numbers of "Herculanum et Pompeji;" being a general collection of the paintings, bronzes, and mosaics hitherto discovered, and augmented with unpublished subjects. It is to be completed in 100 weekly numbers, in 8vo.

The first part has appeared of "Analyse grammaticale raisonné de différents Textes anciens Egyptiens," by M. François Salvolini. This part comprehends the hieroglyphic and demotic text of the Rosetta stone, with plates. The whole work, dedicated to the king of Sardinia, will consist of eight parts, forming two 4to. volumes.

Of the important Sanscrit work, "Kathaka-Oupanichat," extracted from the Yadjour-Veda, and translated into French by L. Poley, seven *livraisons* have appeared. The whole will consist of 20 *livraisons*, in 4to.

M. Garcin de Tassy will speedily publish a History of Hindostanee Literature. For this purpose he has already collected particulars concerning 700 Hindostanee writers.

M. Opigez, of Paris, has announced the publication, by subscription, of what he terms an "Edition-Monument," a folio edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, with Chateaubriand's translation on the opposite page, illustrated by 55 compositions by Flatters, and a portrait of Milton, engraved on steel by the first artists, French and foreign. The work will be completed in 28 *livraisons*, at 10 francs each.

M. Hingray, of Paris, has undertaken to produce an illustrated edition of the works of M. de Chateaubriand, with 400 wood-cuts by Fragonard, 50 vignettes on steel, and two maps. The work will form 150 weekly numbers.

In our last number we recorded the death of Carlo Botta, the Italian historian; we were not then aware that this event occurred in the month of August last, in Paris, where he had lived for many years in close retirement on account of ill health.

Botta was born in 1768, at the little village of San Giorgio di Canavese, in Piedmont, studied medicine in Turin, and directed his attention in particular to anatomy and botany. He had already taken his degree as doctor of medicine, when the breaking out of the French revolution gave another direction to his pursuits, and caused the study of politics and history to engross his mind. He was one of the first and most strenuous champions of the new ideas of liberty; which, in the very first period of their development, found their way across the Alps. This zeal drew upon him, in 1792, a confinement, to him doubly mortifying, in the state-prison at Turin. His first act, nevertheless, on recovering his liberty, was a new homage to the ideas to which he had sworn allegiance, and for which he had suffered. He went, in 1793, to France, entered into the medical service of the French armies, and soon afterwards returned with them to his native country, which thenceforth became the sphere of his extended political activity. He then turned his serious attention to a plan of government for Lombardy, which he submitted, but without farther results, to General Buonaparte; then accompanied, in the year 6, the division sent to the Ionian Islands, and after his return was nominated by General Joubert a member, together with Carlo Bossi, and Carlo Julio, of that provisional government to which was given in the country itself the name, since become historical, of *Il triumvirato de tre Carli*. When, in 1799, the Russians entered Italy, Botta again fled to France, returned once more after Buonaparte's victory at Marengo, and became a member of the Consulta of Piedmont. In 1803 Piedmont was incorporated with France, and Botta was again sent to Paris as a member of the legislative body by the department of the Dora. Since that time Botta rarely left France, and only for short intervals. Though he continued to be a member of the legislative body till the year 1814, yet his sentiments, which were sufficiently known, were little calculated to procure him the favour of Napoleon. He spoke several times in the most decisive manner against the arbitrary measures of the imperial government, and was rewarded for it by the honour of having his name, when proposed for questor, struck out of the list by the hand of Napoleon himself. In 1814 he was entirely excluded from the legislative body, because he had voted for the deposition of the emperor. He was the only one of his countrymen who was excepted from the amnesty proclaimed in Piedmont after the fall of Napoleon; and he was therefore compelled to remain in France. During the hundred days he was appointed Rector of the Academy at Nancy, and in the first years after the restoration held the like situation at Rouen; but he was at length pensioned off, and thenceforward resided continually at Paris. It was not till 1830 that he obtained permission to re-visit his native country; and an annuity was settled upon him by the Sardinian government, in acknowledgment of his literary merits.

Wherein these merits chiefly consisted is sufficiently known. Botta, at an early period, devoted his leisure to literary occupations, in which he particularly aspired to that peculiar elegance of style which so advantageously distinguishes his later works. To the early period of his literary activity belong a "Description of the Island of Corfu," which appeared in two volumes in 1799, and which was translated into French; also "Recollections of a Journey to Dalmatia," 1802; some Disquisitions on Brown's Doctrine, and the Nature of Sounds (1803); a "Review of the History of the House of Savoy," (1803), &c. But he founded his reputation as an historian by the publication of his "History of the War of Independence in North America," in 1809.

Though distinguished by superior excellence of description and style, it was far surpassed by his two later works, "The History of Italy from 1789 to 1814," and the "Continuation of Guicciardini's History to 1789;" which were completed but a few years since, and were not long ago reviewed in this Journal. Botta made one poetical attempt: this is an heroic poem, entitled *Il Camillo, o Vejo conquistata*, which appeared in 1816, and is highly praised for the purity of the versification and the energy of the style. During the latter years of his life he had been collecting materials for a biography of Paolo Sarpi; but the state of his health had prevented him from making any progress in that work. One of his younger friends is at present engaged in collecting from his papers particulars of his life. He has left three sons; one of whom is captain in the foreign legion; the second, a distinguished naturalist, is at present engaged, at the expense of the Jardin des Plantes, in scientific travels in Arabia; and the third is a clever engraver at Turin.

Botta has left little or no property. He never made his talents a stepping-stone to wealth and honours, still less could he descend to traffic with his opinions. Shortly after the appearance of his "History of Italy from 1789 to 1814," 100,000 francs were offered him by an emissary of the Jesuits of Turin, if he would re-write a portion of it containing some expressions against the disciples of Loyola, or alter it in such a manner as the interest of the Jesuits should require. Such offers Botta of course rejected with indignation.

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## NETHERLANDS.

Professor L. G. Vischer, of the University of Utrecht, is preparing for the press, "Fergunt," a popular novel of the 14th century, with an introduction relative to the fabulous history of the Knights of the Round Table.

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Natan, bookseller to the University of Utrecht, announces the early appearance of "Proben philosophischer Forschungen," by Professor Ph. W. Van Heusde. These inquiries are undertaken for the purpose of answering the questions: How does man arrive at truth? How does he attain virtue? How is he some time to attain wisdom?

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## BELGIUM.

Professor Hoffman von Fallersleben has made an important discovery among the MSS. of the public library at Valenciennes. He has there found the hymn composed about the year 883, in the ancient German language, on occasion of the victory of Louis over the Normans. This literary curiosity, which Mabillon copied from a MS. belonging to the abbey of St. Amand, but which has been sought in vain ever since the year 1692, is of the greatest importance to the history of literature. Professor Hoffmann means to publish in Belgium the original text of the poem, with a fac-simile of the MS. conjointly with M. Willems, who is known as the editor of several ancient works in the Flemish dialect.

## GERMANY.

The catalogue of books of the Leipzig Michaelmas fair, comprehends 3538 partly new works, partly new editions, produced by 551 publishers. That of the Easter fair contained 4353, so that both comprehend 7891 articles, being 362 more than the two catalogues for 1836. In the above number are, books and pamphlets on scientific and miscellaneous subjects, 3261; novels, 171; plays, 48; maps, either collections or separate, 58. Of these 86 appeared in foreign countries; there remain, therefore, for Germany, including Switzerland, Hungary, and that part of Prussia not belonging to the German Confederation, 3452. Austria furnished 265; Prussia, 1018; Bavaria, 420, Saxony, 673, Hanover, 69, Würtemberg, 278, Baden, 108, the two Hesses, 122, and the four Saxon duchies, 149. The firms which produced the greatest number of articles are: Basse of Quedlinburg, 62; Cotta, of Stuttgart, and Reimer, of Berlin, 49; Manz, of Ratisbon, and Metzler, of Stuttgart, 46; Brockhaus, of Leipzig, 44; Schubotthe, of Copenhagen, 35; Franz, of München, 32; Max and Co., of Breslau, 30.

Mr. J. H. Minner, teacher at the Gymnasium at Frankfort on the Main, who has for many years been engaged in a comprehensive investigation of the Germanic languages, has in the course of these inquiries arrived at conclusions directly contrary to the general notions concerning the essence of human language, and especially concerning the requisites of good dictionaries and grammars. To verify these views, he has formed the plan of a Society, to be entitled "Verein für gemeinnützige, insbesondere vergleichende Kunde der Hauptsprachen Europa's." It is proposed that this society, established, or to be established, at Frankfort, shall use its influence with learned foreigners, for the purpose of inducing them to form similar associations in France, England, Spain, and even in Greece, Russia, and Poland, which are to be in close communication with that at Frankfort, and to co-operate with it in the improvement of the dictionaries, grammars, &c., of the various languages. Thus the attention of the society will not be devoted solely to the Germanic and the Romanic languages, but also to the Slavonian and the modern Greek: though at first it is intended that the society shall consist of a Franco-German, Anglo-German, Italiano-German, and a purely German class. The first three are to proceed immediately to the minute investigation of the present state of the dictionaries and grammars, each in its own language, and to the modification and completion of them on a particular plan. As a channel for communicating to the world the inquiries of this association, it will publish a periodical work, by the title of "Jahrbücher des Vereines," &c., to be edited by Mr. J. M. Minner, and Professor Dr. Possart, for which they solicit communications from the literati, as well of other countries as of Germany.

The Bibliographic Institute at Hildburghausen has announced the publication of the supplement left by Brulliot to Bartsch's "Peintre Graveur," in the French language, in 12 volumes, 8vo. It is to be accompanied with an atlas of 240 plates, containing fac-similes of the rarest and most interesting subjects. The first volume was to appear in the present month of December.

The house of Fleming, of Glogau, has commenced the publication of a series of sketches of the later works of Thorwaldsen in numbers, the drawings for which have been made under that great artist's own inspection. The first number contains *Nemesis* and the *Seasons*; the second, Schiller's monument for Stuttgart, and Guttenberg's for Mentz. The older well-known works of Thorwaldsen are intended to follow.

Cotta, of Munich, has announced an illustrated work, entitled "Erinnerungen aus Spanien," by W. Gail, containing lithographic plates drawn from life, in the provinces of Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, and Castile, and fragments of Moorish and ancient Spanish architecture, with explanatory text from the journal of the editor. The work will be completed in six folio parts.

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The first volume has just been published by the title of "Sächsische National-Encyclopädie," of a work intended to embrace in the dictionary form every thing relative to Saxony, with reference to nature, life, history, geography, statistics, legislation, constitution, arts, sciences, industry, commerce, and civilization. It is dedicated by permission to the King of Saxony. We are not told what is to be the extent of this Encyclopädie, but the first volume, containing 88 sheets, 8vo., comprehends A. to D. inclusive.

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A work of a similar nature is announced by F. Fleischer, of Leipzig, entitled "Vollständiges Handbuch der Geographie, Statistik, und Topographie des Königreichs Sachsen," by Albert Schiffner, in 5 volumes, 8vo. The printing will commence with the year 1838, and the whole is promised in the course of two years.

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Dr. Pfeilschifter has commenced a periodical work, tending to throw light on the present state of Spain, consisting chiefly of extracts from Spanish periodical works of all classes, with the title of "Mittheilungen aus Spanien, über Land und Volk, Wissenschaft und Kunst, die jetzige politische Umwälzung, und den Krieg."

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On the 1st of October, Brockhaus of Leipzig, commenced the publication of a new political journal, entitled "Leipziger allgemeine Zeitung," to appear every evening, Sundays and holidays not excepted.

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Reclam, of Leipzig, announces a history of the German War of Liberation, from 1813 to 1815, by J. Sporschil. The first part will contain from 40 to 50 engravings on steel.

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A work which promises to be of great utility and value to the classical student, is announced by the firm of J. B. Metzler, of Stuttgart. This is "Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung." The editor is Professor Pauly, of Stuttgart; and among the contributors are some of the most distinguished scholars of Germany, for example, Friedrich Creuzer, of Heidelberg, and the two Doctors Grotefend, of Hanover. It will be published in numbers, and be completed in 4 volumes.

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The Hebrew and Chaldean Concordance to the books of the Old Testament, by Dr. Julius Fürst, has advanced to the third part. The fourth is expected to be ready for publication in the month of January, 1838.

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The first volume of "Histoire ancienne et moderne de la Moldavie, de la Valachie, et des Etats independans des Transylvains et de Velaques transdanubiens," by Michael de Kogalnitchan, a Moldavian officer, has just appeared at Berlin. To this work the same writer appends as a supplement, which however may be had separately, "Esquisse sur l'Histoire, les Mœurs, et la Langue des Cigains, connus en France sous le nom de Bohemiens." To this latter is added a glossary, containing 700 Cigain words.

Gödsche, of Meissen, has announced the appearance at the end of the present year, of the first volume of a collection destined as a companion work to the Arabian Nights, by the title of "Abenländische Tausend und eine Nacht," containing the most interesting tales and legends of all the European nations, by J. P. Lyser. A volume of this collection is intended to appear monthly. The first is illustrated with 30 plates from original drawings, by the author.

Rudolph and Dieterici, of Annaberg, have commenced the publication of a collection of the popular tales, ballads, romances, and legends of Saxony, by W. Ziehnert. The first number contains 6 sheets of letter-press.

Mr. Tauchnitz, junior, of Leipzig, has published the first volume of "Bibliotheca Patrum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum selecta," edited by E. G. Gendorf. It contains St. Clement's "Recognitiones," and will be followed by the works of Cyprian, Lactantius, several of Tertullian's, Augustin's, &c.

The fourth portion of the Sketches to Shakspeare's Dramatic Works by Retzsch, containing 12 subjects to King Lear, with explanatory Text by C. B. von Militz, in German and English, is announced to appear early in 1838.

The house of Cotta, of Stuttgart, has announced the speedy publication of the first number of a periodical upon the plan of the English Quarterly Review, to be intituled "Deutsche Viertel-Jahrsschrift," or German Quarterly Review.

By the death of Hofrat Dr. Aloysius Hirt, which happened at Berlin on the 29th of last June, both literature and the fine arts have sustained the loss of an able archæologist. One of his chief works is that on the architecture of the ancients, "Die Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten," folio, 1809, illustrated with 50 plates. He also contributed many essays and dissertations on subjects of art and antiquity to Schiller's "Horen," and other literary journals. His lectures, moreover, obtained for him deserved celebrity, and contributed to the diffusion of sound principles of taste among both artists and the public. He was born at Donaueschingen, in Swabia, in 1759, and was, therefore, about 78 years of age.

## DENMARK.

In Denmark there appear 54 daily and weekly publications, more than half of them in Copenhagen; and there are 30 monthly and other periodical works, the greater part of which are published in the capital. Thus in this little kingdom more than 80 periodical publications make their appearance, all in their native language. It may be computed, that there are in Denmark full as many printing-offices as periodicals; for, in the provincial towns, each publication has its separate printing-office, and in the capital there are at least 29, with from 60 to 70 presses.

## RUSSIA.

A chair for the Chinese language has recently been instituted at Casan. The archimandrite, Daniel, who has been appointed to fill it, acquired the language in Pekin itself.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg has undertaken the publication of the ancient Slavonian Ostromir Gospels; and has appointed M. Wastokoff, a correspondent of the Academy, and who possesses a thorough knowledge of the Slavonian, to edit the work. This codex is considered by him as the third, or at most the fourth, copy of Cyril's translation. He will add to it a glossary of all the words and phrases in the Gospels. The codex itself is in the public library at Petersburg, and was written in 1057 for Ostromir, *posadnik* (stadtholder) of Nowgorod, a near relative of the grand-prince Iaslaw Jaroslawitsch. The late Count Rumjanzov had conceived the intention of printing a fac-simile of it; he had gone so far as to have 70 punches cut of characters no longer used in modern Slavonian; these have been transferred since his death by M. Köppen to the Academy.

Among the recent German works prohibited in Russia we observe, Wienberg's "Æsthetische Feldzüge," Raumer's "Historisches Taschenbuch," 8th year, Heine's "Die romantische Schule," "Die Waldenser," by König; Address of the Polish Refugees in France to the British House of Commons, May 29, 1832, published at Zurich; Menzel's "Geist der Geschichte;" Schlosser's "Geschichte des 18ten Jahrhunderts," Venturini's "Pragmatische Geschichte unserer Zeit," new series, vol. 9; and in the class of those of which portions only are proscribed, are "Göthe's Briefe, 1768 bis 1812," edited by Döring; and Pfizer's translation of Byron's Poems.

Having seen in the preceding paragraph the anxiety of the Russian government to exclude even foreign historical works from its dominions, we shall be at no loss to comprehend the motive of its solicitude that any documents relative to transactions in which Russia has been implicated should be taken *the greatest care of*. In the French papers we find the following extract of a letter from St. Petersburg, dated October 28:—"There has been discovered at Jampol on the Dniester, in Podolia, in the cellars of a house formerly inhabited by Ladislas Zagoroski, and at present by an assessor of the government, a numerous collection of manuscripts in the Latin, French, Polish, Russian, and Turkish languages, concerning the first partition of Poland. It is said to comprehend autograph letters of the Empress Catherine, King Frederick II., of Prussia, the Duke de Choiseul, minister of Louis XV., Sultan Mustapha, the Khan of the Tartars, and other personages who acted a part at that time. The local authority having communicated this discovery to the minister of public instruction, Count Ouvaroff, and the latter to the emperor, his majesty immediately ordered the MSS. in question to be forwarded to the imperial archives at Petersburg. The order directs *the utmost care to be taken* on the road for the preservation of these valuable documents for the history of Poland."

Russian literature has sustained, in the course of this year, a second important loss by the death of Bestucheff, eminent as a novelist by the assumed name of Marlinskij. His reputation as a prose writer was not inferior to that of Puschkin, as a poet.

In the first half of the year 1837, according to the report of the ministry of public instruction, 486 books were published in Russia. In the preceding year the number was much smaller. The prose works, devoted to light reading, form the most numerous class. In comparison with 1836, fewer works of instruction have appeared, but quite as many learned works.

During the last year an unusual number of original novels have made their appearance; among which may be mentioned "Brat Vetcheslav," "Helen Volkova," and a series of tales, in four volumes, all by Paolov, a writer who has but lately come before the public, yet is already one of the most favourite authors of the day, in Russia. Sophia Kutchko, or Love and Revenge, a romance of the twelfth century, in four volumes, is by Griboiedov, another writer, who, we presume, has lately entered upon his career of authorship, as we have not met with his name before; although it is sufficiently familiar to us as that of the late author of the comedy *Gore ot Ua*. The Fall of the Shuiskis, by Kislov; the Foundation of Moscow, and Nicholas the Bear's paw, or the contrabandist Hetman, by Zotvo, all belong to the class of historical romances. Among the other personages whom the last-mentioned work introduces to us are Frederick William I. of Prussia, the Emperor Charles VI., Maria Theresa, and Elizabeth of Russia. Masalsky's "Borodolinbie" (The Beard Partisans) consists of historical scenes from the reign of Peter the Great, in 1720—21. And Veltman, who has likewise published a fresh volume of tales, gives the public another historical sketch, taken from their national annals, under the title of an "Episode from Biron's Administration." Bulgorin, on the contrary, has paused from novel-writing; his last production being a view of "Russia, historical, statistical, geographical and literary," in four volumes.

Respecting the general class of productions that aspire to the character of novels and romances, a Russian critic makes the following remarks in one of the native periodical works: "Our department of the *belles lettres*," says he, "possesses an important advantage, which the literature of all other countries may envy it. Our novels have such a slender figure, that all their foreign compeers must sink ashamed before them. Twenty or thirty pages are sufficient to constitute a novel, and 150 pages are divided into three portions, and published as a novel in three volumes. At the same time, it must be considered that the number of pages alone cannot furnish any correct notion of the brevity of our novels, and the scantiness of our inventive powers. Our 150 pages are far from being equivalent to that number of English or French pages of the same form. Our words are mostly yard-long, of seven, eight, and ten syllables; theirs of one or two syllables. Their letters occupy very little space, ours are extremely broad; place 28 Russian letters under 28 French, and the latter line will be one-fifth longer than the former. In this manner, 150 Russian printed pages would not make more than 60 to 80 French or English. What a poverty of ideas results from such a comparison!"

## LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1837, INCLUSIVE.

## THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

258 Wiseman, N., Discours sur les Rapports entre la Science et la Religion revêlée, prononcés à Rome. 8vo. 7s.

259 Histoire de la Vie des Saints, des Pères et des Martyrs, composée par une Société d'Ecclésiastiques et de gens de Lettres, sous les auspices du Clergé de France. Tom. II. 8vo. 9s.

260 Böddinghaus, Der evangelische Geistliche in seiner Vorbereitung und Amtsführung. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

261 Pischon, Predigten. 1ste Sammlung. 8vo. 8s.

262 Hartmann, Das Leben Jesu, nach d. Evangelien geschichtl. dargestellt. 1ster Bd. 8vo. 5s.

263 Hülsemann, Predigten u. Gesänge über d. Episteln d. Sonn- und Fest-Tage d. Kirchenjahres. 1ster Bds. 8vo. 8s.

264 Judee, Geschichte d. christl. Kirche. 8ter u. 4ter Brief. 8vo. 3s.

265 Marheineke, Entwurf d. pract. Theologie. 8vo. 8s.

266 Naebe, Brevis in Novum Testament. commentator. Pars I. 8vo. 6s.

267 Scriptorum Graecorum nova collectio, cur. Egger. Tom. I. 4s.

268 Tholuck, Commentat. de vi quam Graeca philia, in theolog. tam Muhammed. tam Iudeor. exercuerit. Pars II. 4to. 2s. 6d.

269 Zorn, Auswahl von Predigten. 8vo. 5s.

270 Tegner, Die Kirche und Schule Schwedens in den letzten Jahrzehenden. 8vo. 5s.

271 Vilmar, Die protestantische Lehre von der Rechtfertigung durch d. Glauben, &c. 8vo. Sa. 6d.

272 Zimmermann, Das Leben Jesu in Predigten behandelt. 2te Abthl. 8vo. 4s.

273 Bretschneider, Corpus Reformatorum. Vol. IV. 4to. 17. 10s.

274 Hagenbach, Vorlesungen über Wesen u. Geschichte d. Reformation. 8ter Thl. Der evangel. Protestantism. 1ster Thl. 8vo. 12s.

## LAW AND JURISPU RDENCE.

275 Marc-Dessaux, Encyclopédie des Hussiers, ou Dictionnaire général et raisonné de Legislation, de Doctrine et de Jurisprudence, etc. Tom. I. 8vo. 8s.

276 Barth, Vorlesungen über Staats- u. Rechts-Wissenschaft. 4ter Bd.: Das Deutsche Bundes- und Staats-Recht. 8vo. 10s.

277 Puchta, Lehrbuch der Pandekten. 8vo. 12s.

278 Bluntschli, Staats- u. Rechts-Geschichte d. Stadt u. Landschaft Zürich. 1ster Thl. 8vo. 11.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, EDUCATION,  
AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

279 Moreau, Christophe, *De la Reforme des Prisons en France, basée sur la Doctrine du Système pénal et le principe de l'Isolation individuel.* 8vo. 8s.

280 Pechet, J., *Mémoires tirés des Archives de la Police de Paris, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Morale et de la Police, depuis Louis XIV. jusqu'à nos jours. Tomes I. et II.* 8vo. 15s.

281 Simonde de Sismondi, J. L., *Etudes sur l'Economie politique.* Tom. III. 8vo. 8s.

282 Dreher, *Der Elementar-Unterricht für das Leben und aus dem Leben.* 3ter Bd. 8vo. 9s.

283 Baer, *Ueber Verarmung u. Nahrungslosigkeit.* Gekrönte Preissschrift. 8vo. 5s.

284 Baader, *Grundzüge d. Societäts-Philosophie.* 8vo. 4s.

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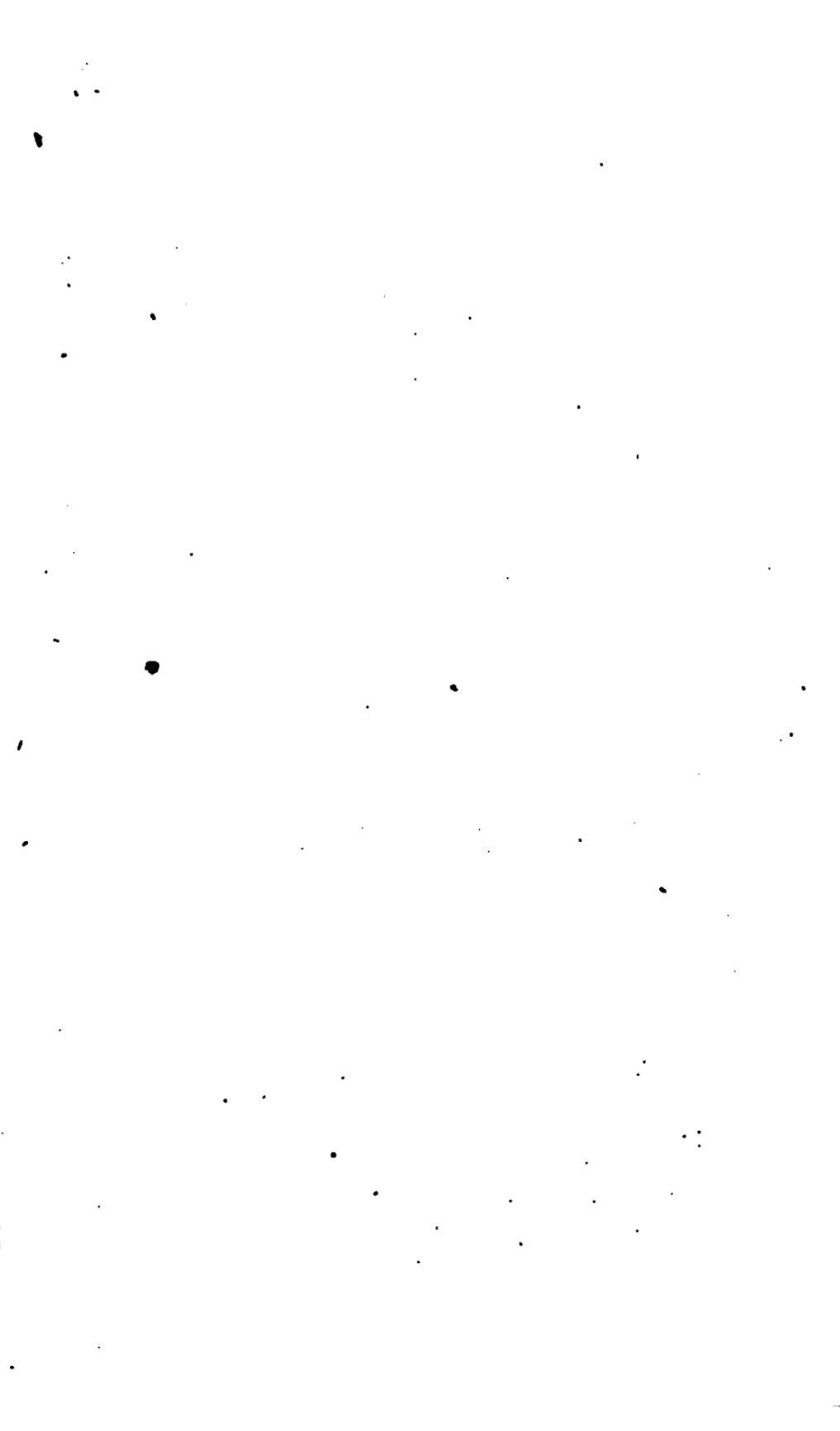
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